PORTRAITS

OF

Illustrious Personages

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

ENGRAVED FROM

AUTHENTIC PICTURES IN THE GALLERIES OF THE NOBILITY AND THE PUBLIC COLLECTIONS OF THE COUNTRY.

WITH

BIOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL MEMOIRS

OF THEIR LIVES AND ACTIONS,

BY

EDMUND LODGE, ESQ. F.S.A.

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MATTHEW PARKER, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

OB. 1575.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE, THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

London, Published Dec.r 1, 1830, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East

MATTHEW PARKER,

ARCHBISHOP OF [illegible]

THE Church of En[illegible]
good [illegible] than to [illegible]
who may have left a [illegible]
the vast and venerable [illegible]
erected in its [illegible]
or symmetry; he [illegible]
irregularities, and [illegible]
a furious and inte[illegible]
terests: he the [illegible]
reign, and the faithful [illegible]
the suspicion of many by [illegible]
he gained the confidence of all [illegible]
which he had been bred. [illegible]
[illegible] persecution: his [illegible]
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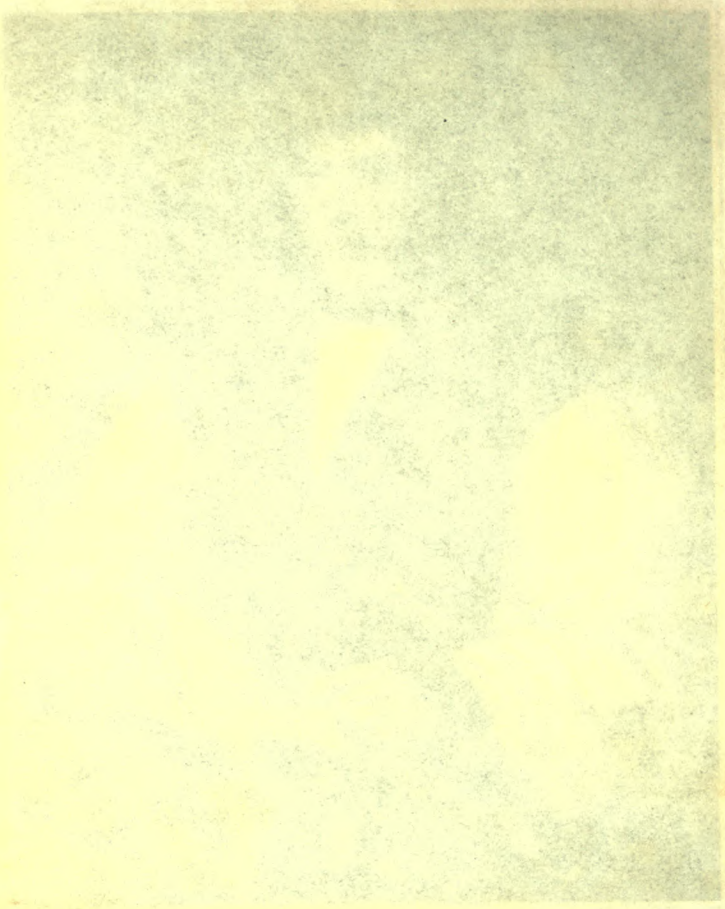
He [illegible]
sixth of Augu[illegible]
a citizen and woollen [illegible]
man's family, or, in other [illegible]
ensigns. His mother was [illegible]
able house of Monyns, of Suffolk [illegible]
for the clerical profession, first in his [illegible]
wards in the University of Cambridge, [illegible]
September, 1522, and on the twentieth of the ensuing March



MATTHEW PARKER,

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

THE Church of England owes perhaps more to this wise and good man than to any of the reformers who preceded him, and who may have left a higher fame. They razed to the foundation the vast and venerable edifice of the ancient religion, and hastily erected in its stead a pile of discordant materials, without strength or symmetry; he cemented the unconnected parts, smoothed irregularities, and supplied deficiencies. They were the slaves of a furious and interested tyrant, and of their own yet baser interests; he the honest and incorrupt servant of a prudent sovereign, and the faithful minister of Christianity. They had incurred the suspicion of many by eagerly adopting a new system of faith; he gained the confidence of all by strenuously supporting that in which he had been bred. Their career had been marked by force and persecution; his was distinguished by patience and benignity.

He was born in the parish of St. Saviour, in Norwich, on the sixth of August, 1504, eldest of the three sons of William Parker, a citizen and woollen manufacturer of that town, but of a gentleman's family, or, in other words, of a family bearing armorial ensigns. His mother was Alice, a descendant from the respectable house of Monyns, of Suffolk and Kent. He was well educated for the clerical profession, first in his father's house, and afterwards in the University of Cambridge, where he was admitted in September, 1522, and on the twentieth of the ensuing March

was chosen a scholar of Bene't, now Corpus Christi, College, a foundation which offered some peculiar advantages to young men born in his city. He remained at Cambridge for twelve years; took the degree of bachelor of arts in 1525, and in 1527 was ordained deacon and priest, elected a fellow of his college, and created master of arts. It is almost needless to observe that the universities at that period ostensibly submitted themselves to the doctrines and the discipline of the Church of Rome; but the reformation was dawning, and Parker was one of many Protestant divines, afterwards of great eminence, who met, with little more secrecy than was required by mere decorum, to pave the way for its progress. This disposition, joined to the fame which he had acquired, not only for his talents and erudition, but as an admirable preacher, attracted the notice of the court, and in 1535 he was suddenly and unexpectedly summoned thither, to take on himself the office of a domestic chaplain to Anne Boleyn, by whom he was soon after presented to the deanery of the college of Stoke Clare, in Suffolk.

After the death of that unfortunate lady, he was retained by Henry as one of his own chaplains. In 1538 he took the degree of doctor in divinity; in 1541 obtained a prebend of Ely, and a rectory in that diocese; and in 1544 was elected master of Benet College, and soon after Vice-Chancellor of the University, which office he served again in the year 1547. Under Edward the Sixth he was appointed a prebendary of Lincoln, and in the same month, July, 1552, was elected Dean of that church. In the following year Mary deprived him of all his preferments, but suffered him to remain unmolested in obscurity during her reign.

Elizabeth, on her accession, committed chiefly to Sir Nicholas Bacon, her Lord Keeper, and Cecil, afterwards the celebrated Lord Burghley, the arduous task of superintending the infant ecclesiastical establishment. The former of those great men had been the intimate friend and fellow collegian of Parker, and probably first recommended him to the Queen's especial favour; but the raising him, without intermediate steps, to the exalted dignity

which awaited him, must have been the result of her own judgment of his character, and of her own private determination. The see of Canterbury had been for nearly a year vacant, when, on the ninth of December, 1558, Bacon signified to Parker the Queen's design to advance him to a bishopric, which he declined. He was again and again summoned to London by the Lord Keeper and the Secretary, but, under various pretences, constantly refused. It is a curious trait of the simplicity and superstition of the time that Bacon should have ascribed, as appears by Parker's answer to one of that minister's letters, his backwardness to a dread inspired by a prophecy of Nostradamus; undoubtedly, however, it arose from the modesty and humility of the man, and Nolo Episcopari was perhaps never in any other instance uttered with such sincerity of heart—"What with passing those hard years of Mary's reign," says he, in one of his letters to Cecil, published by Strype, "in obscurity, without all conference, or such matter of study as now might do me service; and what with my natural vitiosity of overmuch shamefacedness; I am so abashed in myself that I cannot raise up my heart and stomach to utter in talk with others that which with my pen I can express indifferently without great difficulty." At length, on the twenty-eighth of May, he received the Queen's positive command to repair to her presence, which he obeyed, and received from her his nomination to the Primacy; but his consecration was deferred till the seventeenth of December, and it may be worth observing that the private and simple manner in which that ceremony was conducted gave occasion to a silly report, which the Catholics industriously propagated, that it was performed at a tavern in Cheapside. This was revived by the fanatics, in the beginning of the grand rebellion; great pains were taken by some churchmen to invalidate the story of the Nag's Head consecration, as it was called; and they proved by positive evidence that it took place in the archiepiscopal palace at Lambeth.

Parker's first care was to secure the independence of the new hierarchy. An act had passed in the late Parliament to enable

the Queen, on the vacation of any bishopric, to appropriate to herself such part of its temporalities as she might choose to possess, and to give in exchange such portions of abbey lands, or other estates vested in the Crown, as she might deem equivalent. Convinced that no establishment could be safe whose governors must be subject either to the absolute control of the crown, or to the reproach of poverty, he laboured earnestly with Elizabeth to persuade her to relinquish this right, and, though she exercised it with respect to his own see soon after he was appointed to preside in it, in a great measure finally succeeded. He swept away gradually, and with a gentle hand, the numerous remains of the Romish system which yet clung to the church, and, to render his efforts palatable to the people, began with the Queen herself. Elizabeth, who still prostrated herself, in her chapel and in her closet, before a crucifix, and was firmly averse to the marriage of priests, yielded those prejudices to the arguments of Parker. He defended the Reformation with equal zeal and moderation in a correspondence with the ejected Catholic Prelates, and engaged warmly with Calvin in forming a plan for the uniformity of faith and discipline among Protestants throughout Europe, the fruition of which was unhappily prevented by the death of that extraordinary man, whose fame has been unjustly sullied by the subsequent extravagances of the sect which derives its name from him, for Calvin himself was averse neither to monarchy nor episcopacy.

At length it became necessary, for the establishment of the reformed faith, and of an ecclesiastical polity, on known laws, to summon a synod, or convocation, which met on the twelfth of January, 1562. In that assembly Parker proposed the thirty-nine articles which form the code of the church of England, and of which he may be considered in a great measure as the author, and they were, after the most grave and minute deliberation, enacted. Elizabeth's second Parliament met on the same day, and its first employment was to pass an act "for the assurance of the Queen's power over all estates." This statute was peculiarly aimed at the Papal pretensions, and the oath of supremacy,

which had been framed by the preceding Parliament, was recited in it, and imperatively prescribed to many descriptions of persons, but particularly to the clergy, under the penalty of a premunire for the first refusal, and of the laws against high treason for the second. The Archbishops and Bishops were appointed to administer this oath to ecclesiastics, but Parker foresaw the misery which must follow the rigorous exaction of it, and turned with horror from an engine which could be worked only amidst persecution and bloodshed. He wrote, therefore, a letter to be circulated with the utmost secrecy among his brother prelates, to which, with much difficulty, he obtained the Queen's consent, exhorting them not in any case to tender the oath a second time, but, on one refusal, to leave the contumacious party to be dealt with by himself. This excellent letter concluded thus—"Praying your Lordship not to interpret mine advertisement as tending to show myself a patron for the easing of such evil-hearted subjects which, for divers of them, do bear a perverse stomach to the purity of Christ's religion, and to the state of the realm, thus by God's providence quietly reposed; and which also do envy the continuance of us all, so placed by the Queen's favour as we be; but only in respect of a fatherly and pastoral care, which must appear in us, which be heads of his flocks, not to follow our private affection and hearts, but to provide, coram Deo et hominibus, for saving and winning of others, if it may be obtained." In the end, through his perseveranee in this merciful course, that frightful law became nearly a dead letter, and the oath was administered to none of the Popish prelates, or other clergy, except the odious Bonner. Through this, and many other instances of moderation and beneficence towards those unfortunate men, he actually acquired their love. Tonstall, and Thirleby, the deprived Bishops of Durham and Norwich, Boxall, late Dean of Windsor, and others, whom the Privy Council had thought fit to commit to his custody, passed the latter years of their lives in his houses, enjoying a tranquillity perhaps before unknown to them; guests to his hospitality, and prisoners only to their own gratitude.

From the Romanists, subdued by past severity and succeeding conciliation, the Church of England had now little to dread, when from her own bosom issued a host of enemies yet more formidable. These were the Puritans, as they were then called, whom we have since seen split into so many sects of various denominations. Originally without any specific design, and animated by the simple operation of discontent and folly, they fell furiously on the caps, and hoods, and tippets, of the churchmen, and by an incessant outcry, uttered in the foulest language that ever disgraced the pulpit or the press, at length necessarily called forth the attention of the Primate. He renewed his endeavours to establish an uniformity of worship, and his interference proved but the signal for new murmurs. All the exterior decencies of devotion were reviled as remnants of popery, and ecclesiastical property was viewed merely as the means of supporting spiritual pride. These people had for their chief patron the abandoned Earl of Leicester, and the bickerings which followed between that unworthy favourite and Parker tended much to embitter the remainder of the good man's life. The Archbishop, however, in concert with some other members of the ecclesiastical commisson, composed in 1564 certain articles respecting the public administration of the sacraments, and the apparel of the clergy, but the Privy Council, at the instigation of Leicester, refused to confirm them; he was therefore obliged to publish them on his own authority, and they were utterly disregarded. Amidst these differences he was deeply engaged in superintending that edition of the Scriptures which is known by the name of the Bishops' Bible, because he had allotted a portion to each of the Bishops for his revisal and correction, reserving to himself the final control over the whole.

The last ten years of this excellent prelate's life were passed between vain endeavours to prevent the ascendancy of the Puritans, and to ward off the blows aimed at himself by the courtiers who supported them. Continually thwarted in the execution of his high functions: maligned by a multiplicity of

libels; his credit undermined with the people, and, through the intrigues of Leicester and some others, failing with the Queen; he lived in fact under a persecution, and was perhaps saved by death from undeserved impeachment, or at least disgrace. Within a few weeks even before his departure, and probably while he laboured under his last illness, a virulent and wholly undisguised attack was made on him, by printing a translation of the section relating to himself, in a small history in Latin of Bene't College and its successive Masters, preserved in manuscript in that house, and stuffing it with the most scurrilous ribaldry in the shape of notes. The character of this vile and vulgar publication may be fairly inferred from its title—"The life off the 70 Archbishopp off Canterbury, presentlye settinge, englished, and to be added to the 69 lately sett forth in Latin. This number off seventy is so compleat a number as it is great pitie ther shold be one more; but that as Augustin was the first, so Mathew might be the last." This may serve as a specimen of the innumerable pamphlets of the same cast by which he was about that time assailed.

Archbishop Parker had been long afflicted by the stone, and in March, 1575, experienced a terrible attack of that complaint, which continued for many weeks with little intermission. During his illness he wrote many letters to the Queen and Burghley on the state of the Church, with a fervency which the pains of death even increased. His last letter to the Treasurer concludes with a presage of the awful times which were approaching. "I am not much led," says he, "by worldly prophecy, and yet, I cannot tell how, this old verse recourseth oft to my head—Fœmina morte cadet, postquam terram mala tangent." He died at Lambeth, on the seventeenth of May, and was interred in his private chapel there; but his remains were torn from their grave by the Puritan regicide who then inhabited the archiepiscopal palace, and, with a refinement of brutality, which has been since imitated only by the revolutionary atheists of France, buried in a dunghill. He married, in 1547, Margaret, daughter of Robert Harleston, of Matsal, in Norfolk. This was the lady to whom

Elizabeth, after one of the great banquets given to her by Parker, said, alluding to the untitled dignity of an Archbishop's wife—"And you, Madam I may not call you, and Mistress I am ashamed to call you; so as I know not what to call you, but yet I do thank you." He had by her four sons; John, who married, and established a family in the county of Kent; Matthew, who died an infant; a second Matthew, who also married, but left no posterity; and Joseph who died a bachelor.

This prelate was profoundly learned, and his erudition was ornamented by a zealous taste for antiquarian research. We are indebted to him for the publication of four of our best early English historians, Matthew of Westminster, Matthew Paris, Thomas Walsingham, and Asser, whose Life of King Ælfred he printed in Saxon characters, to encourage the study of that tongue. He published, in 1572, the lives of his predecessors in the See of Canterbury, under the title of "De Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ, et privilegiis Ecclesiæ Cantuarensis, cum Archiepiscopis ejusdem LXXX," most of the copies of which want his own life, and it is this work that the libel lately mentioned affects to complete. Doctor Blague, Dean of Rochester, and rector of Lambeth, and some other learned men, are supposed to have largely assisted him in collecting and composing it. He wrote also a Defence of the Marriages of Priests; and translated Ælfric's Saxon version of an ancient Latin homily, proving that the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was used by the Saxons. The University of Cambridge, and his archiepiscopal houses, afford ample testimony of his munificence and disinterestedness. He founded two fellowships, and ten scholarships, in Bene't College (to the library of which he gave his invaluable collection of manuscripts) and a scholarship in Trinity Hall; made many valuable additions to the University library, and large presents of plate to several of the Colleges; and repaired and ornamented the palaces of Canterbury, Lambeth, and Beakesborne, purchasing, at a vast expense, the comfort and convenience of his successors.

Engraved by [illegible]

WALTER DEVEREUX, EARL OF ESSEX.

OB. 1576.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE COLLECTION OF

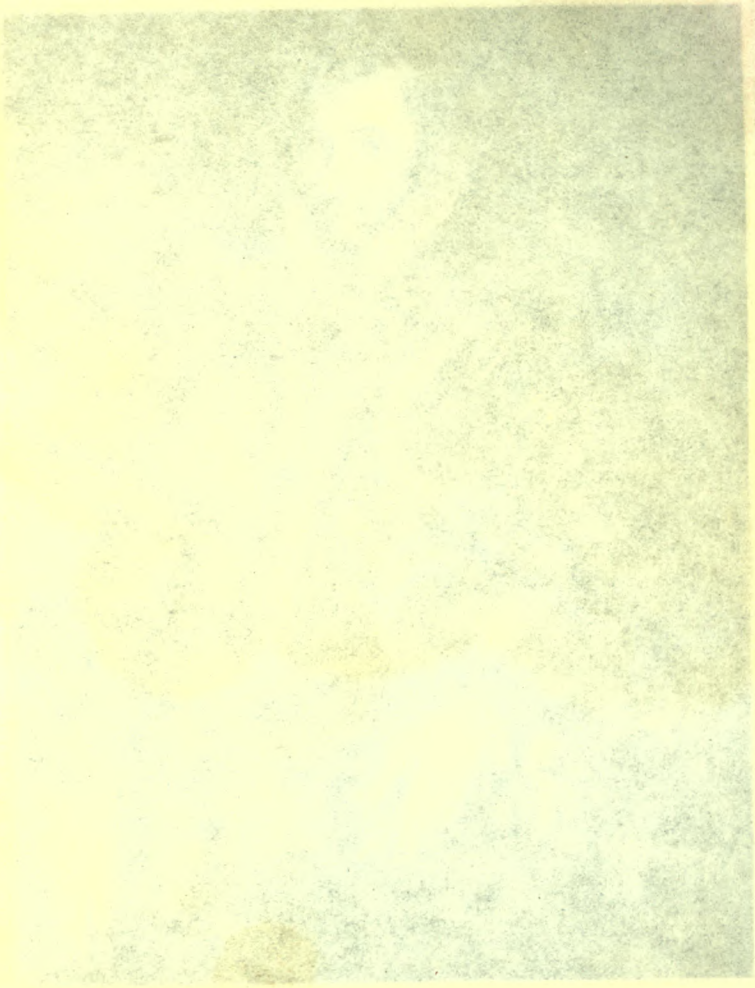
THE RIGHT HON^{BLE} LORD BAGOT.

London, Published [illegible] by Harding & Lepard Pall Mall East.

WALTER DEVEREUX

IN a reign abounding [illegible] story is pre-eminently romantic. slighted by his Sovereign, [illegible] grity, but never trusted; [illegible] bravery in the military [illegible] life, and uniformly [illegible] uniting in his veins the [illegible] to the mortifying contrast [illegible] trious birth usually turned [illegible] sunk into the grave [illegible] disgrace to his [illegible] and unrequited services.

His birth was [illegible] from the great [illegible] first of which [illegible] Ferrers of Chartley [illegible] been by Edward the [illegible] Hereford; his father, Sir [illegible] enjoy the titles, took [illegible] Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon [illegible] marriage. He was born about [illegible] the honours and estates of his [illegible] his age, on the death of his [illegible] politeness, and his learning, for he [illegible] educated



WALTER DEVEREUX,

EARL OF ESSEX.

In a reign abounding with historical anomalies this nobleman's story is pre-eminently remarkable. Loyal to enthusiasm, but slighted by his Sovereign; of the most spotless honour and integrity, but never trusted; equally distinguished by his skill and bravery in the military profession, to which he had dedicated his life, and uniformly checked in every enterprise he proposed; uniting in his veins the highest blood of the land, and subjected to the mortifying controul of inferiors, in an age too when illustrious birth usually furnished the strongest claim to respect: he sunk into the grave at an early age, at once an ornament and a disgrace to his time, leaving a sad memorial of disregarded merits, and unrequited services.

His birth was indeed very noble, for he descended maternally from the great Houses of Ferrers, Bourchier, and Grey, from the first of which his paternal ancestors had derived the Barony of Ferrers of Chartley: his grandfather, Walter, Lord Ferrers, had been by Edward the Sixth advanced to the title of Viscount Hereford; his father, Sir Richard Devereux, who did not live to enjoy the titles, took to wife Dorothy, daughter of George Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon, and he was the eldest son of that marriage. He was born about the year 1540, and succeeded to the honours and estates of his family in the nineteenth year of his age, on the death of his grandfather. His good sense, his politeness, and his learning, for he had been excellently educated,

placed him, for a time, so high in Elizabeth's favour, that she once styled him, in a letter under her own hand, " the rare jewel of her realm, and the bright ornament of her nobility." He was anxious, however, to build his fame on a larger basis than the graces and accomplishments of a courtier, and eagerly seized the opportunity which the rebellion in the North of 1569 offered to him, at once to render a signal service to his Sovereign, and to establish a military reputation. On that occasion, he joined the Queen's forces with a considerable body of troops, raised and equipped at his own charge, and so contributed materially to the speedy dispersion of the insurgents. He received an especial, though rather deferred, reward, for in 1572 the Earldom of Essex, a dignity which formerly had been held by his ancestors, the Bourchiers, was conferred on him, and that service is particularly stated in the preamble to his patent. Elizabeth thought fit to distinguish his creation by unusual ceremonies, which she concluded by girding on his sword, and placing the coronet on his head, with her own hands. About the same time she gave him the order of the Garter.

In the succeeding year he was enabled to put into practice a plan which, though probably long considered, was less distinguished by its prudence than by a generous spirit of enterprise. Ireland was then the only scene of military operations, and a fierce insurrection reigned, particularly in Ulster. Essex prevailed on the Queen to permit him to volunteer his services there, under a very singular agreement. Brian Mac Phelim, more frequently called " the great O'Neil," a powerful chief, had possessed himself of the most part of the district of Clanhughboy, in that province, from which the Earl undertook to dislodge him, on condition that Elizabeth should grant to the conquerors and their commander, one half of the subdued district, for the defence of which he stipulated to maintain, at his own charge, two hundred horse, and four hundred foot; and, to furnish himself with the means, he borrowed ten thousand pounds of the Queen, on mortgage of his estates in Essex. It has been said, and there seems little

reason to doubt it, that the Queen's consent to this romantic expedition was obtained chiefly through the intercession of his enemy Leicester, who watched his growing favour with a jealous eye, and had used every artifice to flatter and encourage his inclination, and to procure the dispatch to a distance of a rival whom he dreaded. Essex, although perhaps as much distinguished by an acute penetration as by the noble simplicity of his mind, seems to have been unconscious of this design to the last; but he foresaw other difficulties, and set out on his journey with a heavy heart. The two following letters to the Treasurer Burghley, from the originals in the Harleian collection, while they prove that fact, will be found to throw a strong, and very advantageous light on the Earl's character: we find too, in the second no inconsiderable proof of the wisdom of Elizabeth.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR L.

I have passed the assurance of v$^{c\ lb}$ land to the Quene's Ma^{te}, after suche sort as her Ma$^{te's}$ Counsell hathe devised, as shall appere unto you by M^{r} Attorney's certificat. I shall nowe desyre your L. to send your warrant to S^{r} Thom$\tilde{s}$ Gresham for delyvery of the moneye unto me. My L. Chamberlen told me yesterday that he hathe sent unto your L. the articles touching the comission for gov$\tilde{n}$ement of the contrey for a tyme, and of those I carry wth me. I praye your L. after you have considered of them to direct your warrant for the making of the comission. Yf your L. do not come shortli unto the Court, I shall desyre you to wryte to my L. Chamberlen, and my Lord of Leicester, to further my dispatche. I have vearie greate busynes to do in the contrey after I have done here, and therefore wold I be gladlie dispatched hence. I meane not to tarry long after my patent and comission are sealed.

I here y^{t} your L. rides to your house at Burghley. I desyre that I maye knowe the tyme of your returne to the Court, or to your house at Theobalds. Yf your L. do not returne before the last of this monethe, I will then wayte uppon you at Burghley.

I do, my Lord, make my reconyng of your L. to be my assured pillar; and if I did not hope that, assuredlie I wold not have taken the jorney in hand, if the Quene had given me the x thowsand pounds she lent me. I loke for to find enymyes enoughe to this enterprise, and I feele of some of them alredye. I praye your L. that you will, when your leysure will serve you, set downe what course you thinck beste for me to take for the order of those people I carry w^t^ me, and fynd there. As I do onlye repose my trust uppon you, so will I be only directed by you.

When your L. wrytes unto my Lord Deputie of Ireland I praye you that you will desyre his favour and furtherance to me in this enterprise. He shall fynd me as ready to do any service there to her Majestie, undernethe him, and to get any honour unto him, as he shall fynd any man. He is a gentleman whom I have ev^r^ loved, and lyked well of, and I have good hope I shall fynd him my frend; and yet some susipic̃on have I had of late of yt, by reason of some speche that hath passed from his nere frends.

Thus, resting ev^r^ at yo^r^ L.' comandement, I shall comyt you to the Lord. From Duresme Place, this xxii of June, 1573.

Your Lords^hip^'s at comaundement,

W. Essex.

May it please your L.

Yesterday I was at the Courte, and dyd take my leave of her Ma^tie^. She hathe signed all my books, and I am dep̃ted from her Ma^tie^ w^t^ verie good words, and promyse of her favour and furtherance to this enterprise. Uppon the taking of my leave, she told me that she had two speciall things to advise me of: the one was that I should have considerac̃on of the Irishe there, whiche she thought had become her disobedient subjects rather because they have not byn defended from the force of the Scotts than for any other cause. Her Ma^tie's^ opynion was that, uppon my comyng, they wold yeld themselves good subjects, and therefore wyshed them to be well used. To this, my L., I answered that I determyned to deale so w^th^ them as I shuld fynd beste for

her service when I came there; and, for the present, I could not saye what is beste to be done; but this her Ma^tie shold be sure of; that I wold not imbrue my hands w^h more blud than the necessitie of the cause requireth. The other speciall matter was that I shuld not seeke too hastely to bring people that hathe byn trayned in another religion from that w^ch they have been brought uppe in. To this, I answered that, for the present, I thought it was best to lerne them to knowe ther aliegence to her Ma^tie, and to yeld her their due obedience; and, after they had lerned that, they would be easily brought to be of good religion. Muche more speches besids passed betweene her Ma^tie and me, whiche were of no greate importance, and therfore I wryte them not to yo^r L.

I am, my L. dep^ted from the Court w^t many good and fayre promises of diverse, but of the p^formance of them I knowe not what assurance I may make. I repose my onlie truste uppon your L. Your honorable dealing w^t me, both in this, and at all tymes before, hathe byn suche as hath bound me ever to be at your L'. comandement. And so I rest, and humbly take my leave of yo^r L. From Duresme House, this xx^th of Julie, 1573.

At your L'. comandement,

W. Essex.

On the sixteenth of August following he embarked at Liverpool, accompanied by the Lords Darcy and Rich, and many other persons of distinction, together with a multitude of volunteers of inferior rank, who followed his fortune in the hope of mending their own. They were disappointed, and abandoned him soon after his arrival in Ireland, and this was the first of the long series of misfortunes which attended his expedition. Weakened by their defection, he besought the Queen to let him prosecute the service in her name, and under her command, and offered to discharge a moiety of the expense from his own purse, but his request was denied. He then applied to Sussex, Leicester, and Burghley, to induce her to aid his diminished force with one hundred horse, and six hundred foot, but that too was refused. In the mean

time his chagrin was increased by the malice of the Lord Deputy, Fitzwilliam. Elizabeth, whose sagacity had foreseen the probable jealousy of that officer, had endeavoured to avert it by leaving to him the honour of granting the Earl's commission, the delivery of which he contemptuously delayed for many months. When Essex received it, he was earnestly employed in fortifying Clanhughboy, which in fact was the main object of his plan; but the messenger brought him positive orders from the Deputy to abandon immediately that part of the Island, and to pursue the Earl of Desmond. He obeyed, in silent grief, and had the good fortune, rather by persuasion than force, to reduce that formidable chief to submission. He gained great honour in this, and indeed in all the conduct of his first campaign; yet, says Camden, "with these actions was the year well nigh spent in Ireland, to no man's advantage, but to Essex's great damage."

Convinced, thus early, that all his endeavours would be sacrificed to the envy of the Deputy, and the secret influence of Leicester, and doubtful of the ability of his force to cope with the enemy, he requested permission in the beginning of the following year to treat with their leader, and was refused. He then surrendered his government of Ulster, was soon after suddenly obliged by the Deputy to resume it, and once more to march far from thence against the insurgents, to whom, when he unexpectedly found himself on the point of subduing them, he was peremptorily instructed to offer terms of peace. Still he obeyed. He concluded a treaty, even honourable to his Sovereign and to himself; and again returned into Ulster, which, in his absence, had been invaded by the Hebridian Scots. He presently dispossessed them of the tract of country which they had gained, and pursued them to their own islands, on which he was establishing military posts, when, without the assignment of any reason for so cruel an insult, he was deprived of his command; and required to serve at the head only of three hundred men, with the mere title of their captain. Elizabeth felt for his hardships, and indeed may be considered as having shared in his indignities; but, such

was her blind submission to the will of the detestable Leicester, that she durst not openly protect him. In the midst of his vexations of this year, Burghley, whose friendship for him Essex appears to have justly estimated, vainly recommended it to her to appoint him to succeed his enemy, Fitzwilliam, in the office of Lord Deputy—a new circumstance in his story, which is communicated to us by the following letter, from an original in the same collection with those before inserted, abounding with indirect allusions to the misconduct of that officer.

My Good Lorde,

Yt greaveth me that I shoulde so often trouble yo^{r} L. as I doe, but necessitie doth compell me, for I finde none whoe is carefull of myselfe, or my a$\tilde{c}$ions, but yo^{r} selfe. I wille not trouble your L. wth a longe discourse of the state of things here, but wille referre you to the l$\tilde{r}$es written to my LL. of the Counsaill.

We have expected here the cominge of S^{r} Henrye Sydney theise two monethes, but that brute beginneth now to dye. Suerly my L. the daylie lookinge for of a chaunge dothe great harme; for duringe this interim is the greatest spoile comitted, because all the ylle disposed now robbe and steale, hopinge that the newe governor will pardon all done before his tyme. God send us shortlie a settled governor, and such a one as is fytte for Ireland, not Ireland fytte for him. This people waxe proude: yea, the best might be amended: all nede correction.

I understand by divers of my freinds that your L. hathe both wished and laboured to place me in this unfortunate office. There is juste cause whie I shoulde thinke myselfe moste depelie bounde to you for yt, for I knowe yo^{r} L. wishethe yt for my good; but the feare of envie, and of evill assistaunce, dothe so much discourage me to take yt, as I assure you, my L., I wishe yt rather to any man that were fytte for it then to myselfe. I knowe that as the enterteinm^{t} is honorable, so is the charge great, and the burden hevie; and whoe shall serve the Q. and his countrye

faithfullie shall have his payne a rewarde for his travaile: but, yf he wille respect his gayne more then his Prince, countrie, or honestie, then may he make his gayne unmercifull.

Because I will shortlie send againe, I wille not trouble your L. longer, but wille conclude wth my humble thanks for the money w^{ch} yo^{r} L. hathe p̄cured me, w^{ch} I assure you was muche neded. God preserve yo^{r} L. longe in healthe and honor. From the Newrye, the 28 of August, 1574.

Your L.' most bounden,

W. Essex.

Having remonstrated in vain, both to the Queen and the Privy Council, by letters equally spirited and judicious, which may be found in Collins's Sidney Papers, he returned to England in the spring of the following year. He had been long apprised of Leicester's treachery towards him, and now gave vent to his indignation, with all the courage and candour which belonged to his character; yet that prodigious hypocrite not only found means to appease him, but even dared to proffer his friendship, and, in the end, persuaded Essex to grasp at the deceitful phantom. He was induced once more to return to Ireland, with general promises of better usage, and more extensive powers; and with the dignified but inefficient office of Earl Marshal in that kingdom, granted to him at Leicester's special intreaty. On his arrival there, however, he found the same baleful influence still prevailing against him. All his counsels were slighted; all his active endeavours thwarted; all his motives misrepresented. He survived but few months. Those who had spared no pains to blast all his views of honour and happiness industriously reported that he died of a broken heart, or, in other words, of a dysentery produced by grief. They certainly were best qualified to draw that inference from their own conduct; but the rumour was discredited. The strongest suspicions of poison had been excited; and his friends, who indeed composed the nation, for no man was more

generally beloved and admired, pointed with one accord at Leicester as the murderer. Three minutely particular accounts of his illness are extant in print; the first, in the pamphlet called Leicester's Commonwealth; the second, which has been attributed to Essex's beloved and faithful retainer, Sir Edward Waterhouse, in Hearne's preface to his edition of Camden's Annals; and the third, in a letter from Sir Henry Sidney, at that time Lord Deputy, to Sir Francis Walsingham, in the Sidney Papers. The first and the last of these may be reasonably suspected of opposite partiality. The object of the one was to load Leicester's memory with every possible imputation; that of the other, to screen it from censure. Sidney, indeed, was married to Leicester's sister, and it detracts nothing from his most honourable character, that he should have laboured to avert from his brother-in-law so horrible a charge. Waterhouse's very curious narrative, (if it were his) is given with great candour. The opinion, however, of the writer may be inferred from the words with which it commences: "Walter, the noble Earl of Essex, Earl Marshal of Ireland, Knight of the most honourable Order of the Garter, falling sick on a laske, as it was supposed, called Dysenteria, through adustion of choler, on Friday the twenty-first of August (or whether it were of any other accident, the living God knoweth, and will revenge it) he was grievously tormented by the space of twenty-two days," &c. If this account be correct, of which there seems little room to doubt, the Earl died on the eleventh or twelfth of September 1576; Dugdale, however, citing good authority, fixes his death to the twenty-second of that month. He was buried at Caermarthen, the place of his nativity.

Walter, Earl of Essex, married Lettice, daughter to Sir Francis Knollys, K. G. and left issue by her two sons; Robert, his successor, the accomplished, imprudent, and unfortunate favourite of Elizabeth; and Walter; and two daughters; Penelope, first married to Robert, Lord Rich, afterwards to Charles Blount, Earl of Devonshire; and Dorothy, wife, first, of Sir Thomas Perrot,

secondly, of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland. Some considerable time following the Earl's death had elapsed when it was suddenly discovered, to the astonishment and disgust of the nation, and in confirmation of former suspicions, that Leicester had privately married the widowed Countess almost immediately after the decease of her ill-fated consort.

Engraved by W.H.Mote.

SIR NICHOLAS BACON.

OB. 1579.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF ZUCCHERO, IN THE COLLECTION OF

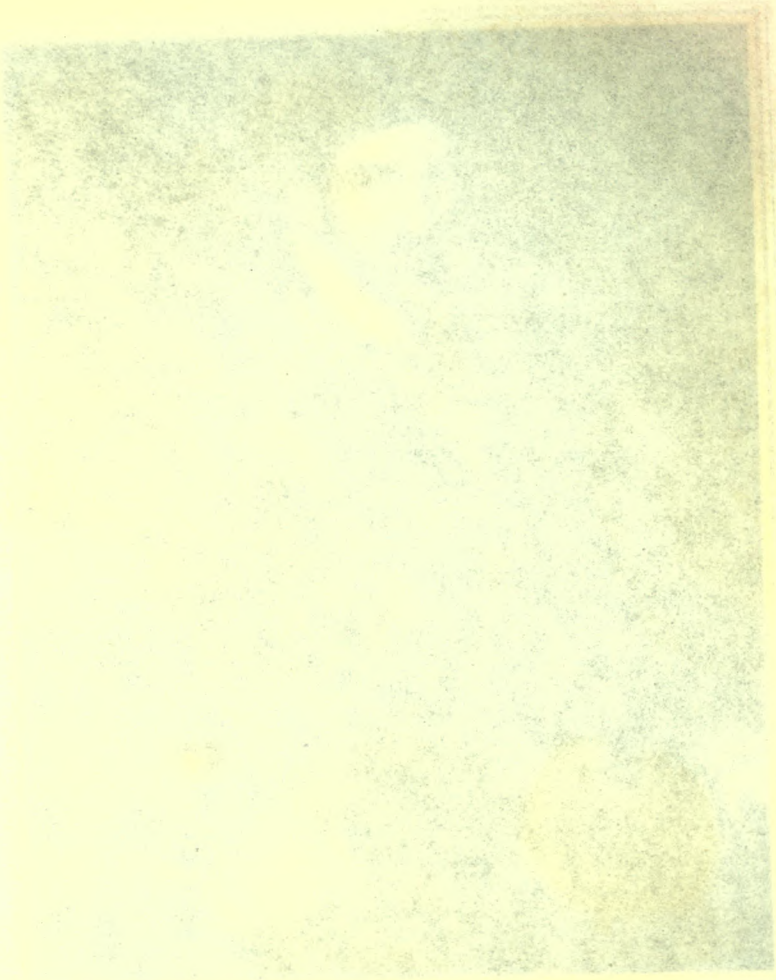
HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

London, Published Dec.r 1.1836 by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

SIR NIC[illegible]

F[illegible] have given [illegible] acquirements [illegible] too much [illegible] certainly the [illegible] of which he held [illegible] over with very little [illegible] which it affords [illegible] ation and inconsistenc[illegible] was mild, prudent, and [illegible] bespeak rather an [illegible] rather to be [illegible] loved retirement [illegible] and the [illegible] others in the [illegible] which he [illegible] his mind [illegible]

He was [illegible] Suffolk, a descendant [illegible] that county, by Isabella [illegible] also in Suffolk, and was born at [illegible] 1510. Of his education we know [illegible] Bennet College in Cambridge, or [illegible] for some time on leaving the univers[illegible] the law in Gray's Inn, and is said [illegible]



SIR NICHOLAS BACON.

FULLER, Lloyd, and other professed dealers in florid characters, have given this gentleman credit for the most exalted talents and acquirements. Careless as such writers are of fact, it would be too much to ascribe these encomiums merely to imagination, but certainly the history of the memorable period during a great part of which he held one of the first offices in the state passes him over with very little notice, and even the meagre intelligence which it affords us of him is frequently confused by misrepresentation and inconsistency. It may be gathered however that he was mild, prudent, and unambitious; qualities which should bespeak rather an honest than a splendid fame; that he sought rather to be a useful minister than a refined politician; that he loved retirement, and rural occupations, and possessed the temper and the faculties which make men agreeable to themselves and to others in the intercourse of private life; and that the maxim which he chose for his motto probably denoted the character of his mind, as well as regulated his conduct—"Mediocria Firma."

He was the second son of Robert Bacon, of Drinkston, in Suffolk, a descendant from a family of respectable antiquity in that county, by Isabella, daughter of John Gage, of Pakenham, also in Suffolk, and was born at Chislehurst, in Kent, in the year 1510. Of his education we know only that it was completed at Bennet College in Cambridge, or rather at Paris, whither he went for some time on leaving the university: on his return he studied the law in Gray's Inn, and is said to have been distinguished at

an early age, as well for his extensive knowledge of it as for his eloquence at the bar. We have no account of the circumstances which introduced him to public employment, but there can be little doubt that he was one among the many subordinate agents in the Reformation. He had been bred in the new mode of faith, and professed it through his life with a warmth of zeal scarcely consistent with the placidity of his character. The first favours too which he received from the Crown were derived from that great fund on which Henry usually charged the rewards of such persons, for they consisted in a grant of the manors of Botesdale and Gillingham, and the manor and park of Redgrave, portions of the estate of the monastery of Bury St. Edmund's. These were conferred on him in 1544, and he was about the same time appointed Solicitor to the Court of Augmentation, and two years after Attorney to the Court of Wards. We have no further intelligence of him during that reign, except that he formed, and presented to the King, a plan for the foundation of a great college, which was designed to embrace all subjects of modern learning, and to be devoted, as it should seem, to the education of those designed for the service of the state. Its main objects were, to cultivate the utmost purity in the knowledge of the Latin and French tongues; to read and debate in those languages on all subjects of public policy; and to form historical collections and treatises regarding general systems of government, and their several practical features of domestic management and foreign negotiation; and the students were at length to be perfected in these arts by travelling in the suites of the King's foreign ministers. It is almost needless to say that the scheme was never put into execution.

He passed the reign of Edward the Sixth without further promotion, and that of Mary without persecution. Elizabeth, in her first year, 1558, gave him the custody of the Great Seal, with the style of Lord Keeper, by a patent dated on the twenty-second of December, and soon after knighted him, and admitted him of her Privy Council. It is highly probable, not to disparage

his professional merits, that he owed this sudden and splendid advancement in a great measure to the friendship of Cecil, with whom he lived in much intimacy and confidence, and whose wife's sister he had married; and that it was through the same influence that the Queen, and at length the Parliament, were afterwards induced to invest his office, for the first time, with all the authorities and privileges of the Chancellorship, the faculties of his predecessors in the place of Lord Keeper having extended little further than to the mere sealing of patents. He gained, and very deservedly, much credit by his judicious treatment, in Elizabeth's first Parliament, of the great question of her legitimacy, and it was under his auspices that two bills were passed, the one for recognising her title to the crown, the other for restoring her in blood as heir to her mother, silently leaving untouched the act by which her father had bastardized her. On this policy Fuller, to give him his due, says well—"He was condemned by some who seemed wise, and commended by those who were so, for not causing that statute to be repealed whereby the Queen was made illegitimate, for this wise statesman would not open that wound which time had partly closed, and would not meddle with the variety, yea contrariety, of statutes in this kind, whereby people would rather be perplexed than satisfied, but derived her right from another statute, which allowed her succession, the rather because lawyers maintain that a crown once worn cleareth all defects of the wearer thereof,"—a doctrine too desperate to be resorted to but in extreme cases, and Elizabeth's was then of that description.

He was appointed in the beginning of the following year to preside at the conference held before the two Houses of Parliament between the leading clergy of the two churches on their main points of difference, an office for which he was very unfit, being, as Camden in speaking of it observes, "a very indifferent divine, and a professed enemy to the papists." This debate, which was instituted with no other motive than to impress on the minds of Elizabeth's subjects of both persuasions a notion of her

impartiality and candour, was of course abortive. The protestants entered on it with the haughtiness of anticipated triumph, and the catholics refused to engage in any discussion to which the Pope's supremacy was not made a preliminary. They desired to retire, and Bacon, after repeatedly urging them in vain to go on, dismissed them with this indirect threat—"For that ye will not that we should hear you, perhaps you may shortly hear of us." Some of them were accordingly committed soon after to the Tower, and the rest were bound to appear before the Privy Council, and to remain within the limits of London and Westminster.

His steady aversion to popery, joined to the legal acuteness and uprightness with which he administered the affairs of his court, and the regular method which he introduced into the deliberations of the Privy Council, placed him high in Elizabeth's favour. "She relied on him," says Camden, "as the very oracle of the law." He avoided as much as possible any concern in political intrigues, but the family connexion lately mentioned, as well as his own inclination and judgment, led him to act with what was called the Cecilian party; and this bias, joined to a bitter dislike to the Queen of Scots, chiefly on the score of her religion, induced him to oppose with imprudent openness not only the proposal for a marriage between that Princess and the favourite Leicester, but also the arguments for her succession to the throne, both of which Elizabeth seemed for the time inclined to countenance. Leicester became hereupon his implacable enemy, and accused him to the Queen of having been concerned, as indeed he probably was, in the composition of a tract, published in 1564, under the name of John Hales, Clerk of the Hanaper, with the title of "A Declaration of the Succession of the Crown Imperial of England," in which the right was asserted to be in the issue of the Earl of Hertford by the Lady Catherine Grey, a doctrine peculiarly odious to Elizabeth. Hales was committed to the Fleet prison, and then to the Tower, and Bacon was forbidden the Court, deprived of his seat in the Privy Council, and restricted from any concern in public affairs beyond those of

the Court of Chancery, from which also Leicester used his utmost efforts to persuade the Queen to remove him. He remained for many months in disgrace, and wrote during that interval a sort of recantation, which will be presently more particularly mentioned, in which he asserted the right of succession in the line of Stuart, still however stoutly insisting on the exclusion of Mary. At the earnest intercession, as our historians say, of Cecil, he was at length restored to the exercise of his former functions, and to the Queen's favour, which for the remainder of his life he enjoyed without interruption.

The fact probably is, that the true motive to Elizabeth's esteem for him may be ascribed to his inveteracy against Mary; and that his temporary suspension, and her seeming anger, were mere artifices used to appease the vexation of Leicester, and to silence the importunities of the Scottish ambassador, the Bishop of Rosse, who had loudly demanded justice against the authors and patrons of the tract in question. He was placed at the head of the second commission appointed, in 1568, to hear Murray's charges against the Queen of Scots; and the meeting in 1571 of Elizabeth's ministers and Mary's delegates, at which it was demanded, as the price of Mary's liberty, that some of the chief nobility, and principal fortresses of Scotland, should be placed in Elizabeth's hands, was held in his house, where, the Scots objecting to these proposals, Bacon broke up the conference, exclaiming, says Camden, "All Scotland, your Prince, nobles, and castles, are too little to secure the Queen, and the flourishing kingdom of England." It is scarcely necessary to observe that this mode of dealing was exactly suited to Elizabeth's taste. In the following year the Papists endeavoured to avenge Mary's cause, and their own, by the publication in France of a most bitter pamphlet, with the title of "A Treatise of Treason," in which they charged Bacon as "a traitor to the state of England," and loaded him with every sort of obloquy. This libel, which was carefully dispersed in every part of England, was so highly resented by Elizabeth that she condescended to justify him, and others of her

ministers who were vilified in it, by a special proclamation, and commanded that all the copies of the book should be forthwith given up under severe penalties and burned. With regard to his public life we have no further communication.

He built a mansion on his estate of Redgrave, and another at Gorhambury, near St. Albans, to which last he added gardens of great extent, in the contrivance and decoration of which every feature of the bad taste of his time was abundantly lavished. It was at the former of these houses that Elizabeth, making him a visit, and having observed that it was too small for him, he answered, "No, Madam, my house is not too small for me, but your Majesty has made me too great for my house." Doubtless he meant in the quaint spirit of that day, which always strained a jest too far, to give his repartee the advantage of a double allusion, for he was, it seems, enormously bulky; and it is most singular that Camden, in the short but grave character which he has left us of the Lord Keeper's mind, should have commenced by mentioning that defect in his person: "Vir præpinguis, ingenio acerrimo, singulari prudentiâ, summa eloquentiâ, tenaci memoriâ, et sacris conciliis alterum columen." It is recorded indeed by his own pen, in the commencement of the rough draft of a letter to Elizabeth, remaining in the Harleian Collection, the terms of which may serve too as an apology for the opinion which I have presumed to hint of the mediocrity of his talents—"My most gracious Sovereign; I will, wth all humblenes pray pardon of your Ma^{te} that I presume by l^{res} to doe that w^{ch} bounden dutie and service requireth to be done in p'sone. Oh, good Madame, not of an unwillinge harte and mynde, but of an unhable and unweldie bodie, is the only cause of this; and yet the bodie, suche as it is (as alegiance and a number benefits binds) every day, yea and every howere, is and shalbe readie, at yo^{r} Highnes' commaundement, and so should they be, if I had as good as any man hathe," &c.

He endowed his college with six scholarships, and gave more than a hundred manuscripts to its library. Only two publica-

tions appear to be extant from his pen; the one entitled, "Arguments exhibited in Parliament, whereby it is proved that the persons of Noblemen are attachable by Law for Contempts committed in the High Court of Chancery," 4to, 1641; and the other, on a subject which has been already here spoken of—"The Right of Succession to the Crown of England in the Family of the Stuarts, exclusive of Mary Queen of Scots, asserted and defended against Sir Anthony Browne." This latter tract, which did not appear till 1723, professes to have been published from the original manuscript by Nathaniel Booth, of Gray's Inn, Esq.

He died on the twentieth of February, 1579. Mallet, in his life of the great Bacon, tells us, without stating his authority, that Sir Nicholas being "under the hands of his barber, and the weather very sultry, had ordered a window before him to be thrown open. As he was become very corpulent, he presently fell asleep in the current of fresh air that was blowing in on him, and awaked after some time, distempered all over. 'Why,' said he to the servant, 'did you leave me thus exposed?' The fellow replied that he durst not presume to disturb him. 'Then,' said the Lord Keeper, 'by your civility I lose my life;' and so removed into his bedchamber, where he died a few days after." He was buried in St. Paul's Cathedral, under a superb monument, erected by himself, inscribed with the following lines by the hand of George Buchanan—

"Hic Nicolaum ne Baconum conditum,
Existima illum, tam diu Britannici
Regni secundum columen, exitium malis,
Bonis asylum; cæca quem non extulit
Ad hunc honorem sors, sed æquitas, fides,
Doctrina, pietas, unica et prudentia.
Nec morte raptum crede, quia unica brevi
Vita perennes emeruit duas: agit
Vitam secundam cælites inter animus:
Fama implet orbem vita quæ illi tertia est.
Hac positum in ara est corpus olim animi domus,
Ara dicata sempiternæ memoriæ.

He married, first, Jane, daughter of William Fernely, of West

Creting, in Suffolk, by whom he had three sons; Sir Nicholas, who was the first Baronet created on the institution of that order; Nathaniel, of Stiffkey, in Norfolk; and Edward, of Shrubland Hall, in Suffolk; and three daughters: Anne, wife of Sir Henry Wodehouse, of Waxham, in Norfolk; Jane, married first to Sir Francis Wyndham, a judge of the Common Pleas, secondly, to Sir Robert Mansfield; and Elizabeth, who was thrice married, first to Sir Robert D'Oyley, of Chiselhampton, in Oxfordshire; secondly, to Sir Henry Nevil; thirdly, to Sir William Periam, a Baron of the Exchequer. Sir Nicholas married, secondly, Anne, daughter and coheir of Sir Anthony Cooke, of Gidea Hall, in Essex, and sister of Lady Burghley, by whom he had two sons; Anthony; and Francis, the chancellor, the philosopher, and the great honour and disgrace to his name and family.

Engraved by H.Robinson

SIR THOMAS GRESHAM.

OB. 1579.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF HOLBEIN, IN THE COLLECTION AT

MERCER'S HALL, LONDON.

London. Published Dec.1 1836 by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

SIR THOM

It has been
of commercial
he was a found
led by the
posed,
he chose a
silly falsehoods
notoriety. He was
quity and possessions
that of the parish
father, Sir Richard
and fourth son
county, were
them served the
third and youngest
Audrey, daughter of William
tonshire, and was

His father had
which he himself
for the Crown with the
Merchant, an office of the
as it united the duty of raising
private loans, with that of protecting
from which they were derived.

SIR THOMAS GRESHAM.

It has been reported that this great Patriarch of commerce, and of commercial finance, issued from the lowest origin, nay even that he was a foundling. An old woman, says this tradition, who was led by the chirping of grasshoppers to the spot where he was exposed, carried him to her cottage, and nursed him, and therefore he chose a grasshopper for his crest. It is inconceivable how such silly falsehoods can gain currency in the face of facts of extensive notoriety. He was descended from a family of respectable antiquity and possessions in Norfolk, which derived its name from that of the parish in which it had originally been seated. His father, Sir Richard, and his uncle, Sir John, who were the third and fourth sons of his grandfather, John Gresham of Holt, in that county, were bred to trade; acquired great wealth; and each of them served the offices of Alderman and Lord Mayor. He was the third and youngest son of Sir Richard Gresham, by his first wife, Audrey, daughter of William Lynn, of Southwick, in Northamptonshire, and was born in the year 1519.

His father had for many years exercised the employment in which he himself became afterwards so conspicuous, that of agent for the Crown with the trading interest, or as it was called, King's Merchant, an office of the highest importance and trust, inasmuch as it united the duty of raising money for the royal occasions by private loans, with that of protecting and cherishing the sources from which they were derived. In this, as well as in his own

great commercial concerns, it is pretty evident that he designed his son Thomas for his successor, especially as he was regularly bound an apprentice to his uncle Sir John, and afterwards admitted into the Mercers' Company; yet he was bred a scholar, and acquired no mean fame in the University of Oxford, since Dr. Caius, in his Annals of Gonville and Caius College, says of him, "Una nobiscum per juventutem hujus Collegii pensionarius erat Thomas Gresham, nobilis ille et doctissimus mercator, qui forum mercatorium Londini extruxit," &c. On the death of his father however, which occurred in 1548, Edward the Sixth's Council appointed a Sir William Dansell to the office of royal money agent, who took up his residence in that character at Antwerp, where the trade and wealth of our part of Europe was at that time in a manner monopolised, and from whence the supplies which the profuseness of the preceding reign had rendered so needful had been from time to time drawn, under circumstances of disadvantage to the Crown, which resulted rather from an imperfect knowledge of a right economy in the negotiation of loans than from any inclination to fraud or carelessness. Dansell continued there for a short time, with so little benefit to the King's affairs that it was found necessary to send him letters of recal, which he disobeyed, and Gresham, who, with other merchants, had been called before the Privy Council to advise on the best means of discharging the King's debts, and of procuring future supplies, was sent to Antwerp to supersede him, and presently acquired the highest credit, both there and at home, by the activity, prudence, and fidelity, which distinguished his performance of the duties of his office.

On the accession of Mary, probably on the score of religion, for he seems to have been a zealous protestant, he was dismissed from this employment. Conscious however that his abilities to execute it were unrivalled, and fearful that the fruition of his projects should be delayed by the mismanagement of ignorant competitors, he ventured instantly to present to the Queen a memorial, stating, with a boldness of expression very unusual at that time, his services

to her late brother, and conceived with such force and dexterity, that while it concluded without any direct request, it left her scarcely at liberty to do otherwise in common prudence than to re-instate him. This curious piece, which is of great length, has fortunately been preserved, and it would be difficult to give a clearer idea of the nature of his services, or of the mode in which he performed them, than by citing some extracts from it in his own words. Having stated diffusely the circumstances which, as has been here already observed, led to his appointment by King Edward, whose debts in this way of private contract he says amounted at that time to two hundred and sixty thousand pounds, he proceeds thus—

"Before I was called to serve there was no other means devised to bring the King out of debt but to transport the treasure out of the realme, or else by way of exchange, to the great abasing of the exchange, for a pound of our current money then brought in value but sixteen shillings Flemish; and for lack of payment there at the days appointed, to preserve his Majesty's credit with all, to prolong time also upon interest, which interest, besides the loss of the exchange, amounteth unto forty thousand pounds by year; and in every such prolongation his Majesty was enforced to take great part in jewels or wares, to his extreme loss and damage; of which forty thousand pounds loss for interest yearly I have by my travail clearly discharged the said King every penny, without which prevention the Queen's Majesty had been indebted at this her entry into the imperial Crown the sum of four hundred thousand pounds; besides the saving of the treasure within the realm; without taking of jewels or wares, to the King's disadvantage. Whereas at the time of my entry into the office I found the exchange at sixteen shillings the pound, I found the means nevertheless, without any charge to the King, or hindrance of any other, to discharge the King's whole debts as they grew due, at twenty shillings, and two and twenty shillings the pound; whereby the King's Majesty, and now the Queen, hath saved one hundred

thousand marks clear. By reason that I raised the exchange from sixteen shillings unto two and twenty shillings, whereunto it yet remaineth, all foreign commodities be fallen, and sold after the same value, to the enriching of the subjects of the realm, in small process of time, above three or four hundred thousand pounds. It is assuredly known that when I took this service in hand the King's Majesty's credit on the other side was small; and yet afore his death he was in such credit, both with strangers and his own merchants, that he might have had what sum of money he had desired, whereby his enemies began to fear him, for his commodities of his realm, and power amongst Princes, was not known before; which credit the Queen's Highness hath obtained, if she were in necessity for money at this present day. To the intent to work this matter secretly for the raising of the exchange I did only use all my own credit with my substance and friends. To the intent to prevent the merchants, both strangers and English, who always lay in wait to prevent my devices when the exchange fell to raise it again, I bare some one time loss of my own monies, as the King's Majesty and his Council well knew, two or three hundred pounds, and this was divers times done; besides the credit of fifty thousand pounds which I took by exchange in my own name, without using the King's name. For the accomplishment of the premises I not only left the realm, with my wife and family, my occupying and whole trade of living, by the space of two years, but also posted in that time forty times, upon the King's sending, at the least, from Antwerp to the Court; besides the practising to bring these matters to effect; the infinite occasion of writing also to the King and his Council; with the keeping of reckonings and accompts only by my own hand writing, for mistrust in so dangerous a business of preventers, whereof were store too many; until I had clearly discharged all the foresaid debt, to the great benefit of the realm, and profit of the Queen; for in case this debt had been let alone, and deferred upon interest four years or five, her Majesty should have found it amount

to fifteen hundred thousand pounds at the least, which, God be praised, is ended, and therefore careless at this day."

Having thus recited his services, he demands an audience of the Queen; for, says he, "nevertheless hitherto do I perceive that those which served before me, which brought the King in debt, and took wares and jewels up to the King's great loss, are esteemed and preferred for their evil service, and contrarywise, myself discountenanced and out of favour for my diligence and good service taken to bring the King and Queen's Highness out of debt clear, which understanding of my service that her Majesty may take in good part is as much as I required." Edward had not been ungrateful to him. "It pleased the King's Majesty," adds he, "to give unto me one hundred pounds, to me and my heirs for ever, three weeks before his death, and promised me then with his own mouth that he would hereafter see me rewarded better, saying, 'I should know that I served a King.'" Why he chose to mention this trifling gift, and to be silent as to the valuable grants of a monastic estate in the county of Caermarthen, and of the reversion of the priory of Westacre in Norfolk, both which he received in that reign, it is not easy to conceive. His memorial, aided probably by interest, was successful: Mary restored him to his post, which he filled during the whole of her reign; and Elizabeth continued him in it, with increased favour, and bestowed the honour of knighthood on him soon after her accession.

Numerous details of his negotiations remain in our public collections, and in the cabinets of the curious, but the ordinary transactions of a mercantile agent, however enlarged, can possess little to recommend them to general attention. He became enormously wealthy when he had scarcely passed the prime of life. He had married early, and his wife brought him an only son, whom he had the great misfortune to lose, at the age of sixteen, in 1564. The enthusiasm which in minds above the common character attends acute grief, produces sometimes extraordinary consequences. Gresham, immediately after the death of his

son, determined on the execution of a grand design, which is said to have been conceived by his father, to erect at his own expense a public edifice, after the fashion of the great commercial cities of the continent, for the meeting of the merchants of London, who had been used to transact their business, exposed to the weather, in Lombard Street, or, most indecently, in Saint Paul's Cathedral. In aid of this splendid purpose the corporation purchased and removed eighty houses, which then stood on the site of the projected building, and gave him regular possession of the ground, and towards the end of the year 1567 the Royal Exchange, or, as it was first called, "Britain's Burse," was completed and opened for use; a monument almost unparalleled to the generosity of a private individual. It was destroyed in the great fire of 1666, but a very correct judgment of its magnificence, and of the great charge of its erection, may be formed from the building, yet remaining, by which the city, and the company of mercers, immediately replaced it, with very little deviation from the original plan, at the expense of eighty thousand pounds. Nor was he inattentive to those ostentations which were by no means unbecoming in one who stood confessedly at the head of the important class to which he belonged. He had already built, for his own residence, in Bishopsgate Street, a noble mansion, of which it will be necessary presently to speak further, and soon after added to the great purchases, that he had made in many other parts of the kingdom, that beautiful and well-known estate near London, called Osterley Park, which he planted and enclosed, and erected in it another spacious and stately house. In each of these residences he had more than once the honour of entertaining Elizabeth and her court; and it was in one of her visits to Osterley, that, the Queen having observed that the quadrangle within the building was too large, he sent instantly to London for workmen, who, with equal expedition and secrecy, divided it in the course of the same night by building a wall, which when Elizabeth rose she was astonished to find completed, in strict conformity to her criticism—a refined gallantry exactly to her taste.

Gresham indeed seems to have possessed much of the refinement of a courtier, and more of the sagacity of a politician. In his frequent journeys to the Low Countries he had made acute observations on the Spanish policy, and had gained much important intelligence. Elizabeth's ministers, particularly Cecil, courted his advice on many matters, and gave him no small share of their confidence. Thus in 1568, during a great scarcity of coin in England, a large Biscayan ship, which was conveying a great sum in gold and silver to the Duke of Alva for the payment of his troops, having been chased into the harbour of Plymouth, Gresham, who had received intelligence that the money was not the property of the King of Spain, but had been wrested by him from certain merchants of Genoa, apprised Cecil of that fact, and persuaded him to seize it, and send it to the mint, giving security however to the Spanish ambassador to repay the amount when it should be made to appear to whom of right it belonged. Cecil reluctantly complied, and advised Elizabeth accordingly; and the Duke of Alva, enraged and disappointed, caused all the English at Antwerp to be arrested, an outrage which was immediately retaliated on the Spaniards then in London. Cecil, who abhorred violent measures, became alarmed, and was with some difficulty appeased by Gresham's assurance that any future foreign loans to the Crown might be as advantageously negotiated at Hamburgh as at Antwerp, but that it might be reasonably expected that the readiness of our own merchants to make advances would render them unnecessary. An original letter of great curiosity from Gresham to Cecil, in which all these points are touched on, is in the Landsowne collection, in the British Museum. Stowe, who had by some means obtained a perusal of it, has given large extracts from it, almost verbatim, in his Survey of London; and the authors of the Biographia Britannica, quoting Stowe, represent them, from what motive it is not easy to guess, as arguments used by Gresham in a personal conference with the Minister. The letter has a peculiar claim to be inserted in this memoir in its full integrity.

" Right honnorable S^{r}.

This morning I have receaved y^{rs}. with ~my l~res, by my s~rvaunt, wherbie I do perceyve that the monneye whiche remanith in my hands of S^{r}. Will~m Garrard, and for the armur, must be paid to the m~rchauntes, wherin I shall p~cede with paiment of half their som~es until furder yo^{r}. pleas^{r}. be knowen, for the whiche it maie please you to send me the Q.' Ma$^{tie'}$. warraunt. And, whereas yo^{r}. Honnor doth now think some difficulte to paie any monney to the Q.' Ma$^{tie's}$. creditors beyond the seas, S^{r}., in my opinion youe neede not to make any dowt therof yf her Highnes do see her m~chaunts well paid here in London this first somme, for bie that tyme the other monney shalbe paiable hear bie the Q.' Ma^{tie}. to her said m~chaunts they shall have both plenty of monney at Hamborought and heare; assuring you the goodes that o^{r}. m~chaunts hathe shipped from Hambrough hither is well worth c^{Mli}. and better; and the shipping that they make now from hens w^{t}. o^{r}. comodityes is richely worthe VII c^{Mli}., and better, for that ther wilbe above xxx^{Mli}. clothes, the custom wherof wilbe worth to the Q.' Ma^{tie}. at the least x^{Mli}., which will discharg that debt, if it stand so wth. the Q.' Ma$^{t's}$ pleash^{r}.

S^{r}., I do perceyve that the gretest care that youe have is that o^{r}. m~rchaunts shall not have monney inoughe for to by up o^{r}. comodytes, wherin you need not dowbt, co~sidering the good vent they have had at Hamborought alredie, and are like to have; therfore I shall most humblie beseche you, for the staie and advaunceing of the Q.' Ma$^{t's}$. credit, this small paiment that is agreed upon alredy at Hamborough maie be paid, considering that I have written heretofore to the said creditors they shuld have a painnent made there now this August, whiche paiment will not a little advaunce her Highnes' honnor and credit; and how much her Highnes' credit hathe stand her in steede beyond the seas for reddie monney it is to tedius, and to long a matter, to trowble you wth. all; but if my credit were such that I were able to perswade the Q.' Ma^{tie} and you, I would have that matter now sorowid for above all other things; assuring you, S^{r}., I do know for

certain that the Duke de Alva is more trowbled wth. the Q.' Ma$^{tie's}$. gret credit, and wth. the vent of her Highnes' commodities at Hamborough, then he is wth. any thing els, and quakes for feare, which is one of the chifest things that is the let that the said Duke cannot com by the tenth penny that he now demandeth for the sale of all goods anny kind of waye in the Lowe Countrey, w^{che}., S^{r}., I beleve wilbe his utter undoing. Therefore, S^{r}., to conclude, I would wishe that the Q.' Ma^{tie}. in this tyme shuld not use any straungers, but her own subjects, wherbie she, and all other Princes, maie se what a Prince of powr she is; and bie this meanes there is no doubt but that her Highnes shall cause the Duke of Alva to know himself, and to make what end with that Lowe Countreys as her Ma^{tie}. will herself, what brute soev^{r}. is here spredde abrode to the contrary.

S^{r}., seeing I am entrid so farre wth youe for the credit of the Q.' Ma^{tie}. beyond the seas, wherin I haue travailed this xx yeres, and bie experience in using o^{r}. owne m^{r}.chaunts I found gret honnor to the Prince, as also gret p^{r}fit to the m^{r}.chaunts, and to the whole realm, whatsoever our m^{r}.chaunts saye to the co^{r}trarye; for when o^{r}. Prince ought owr own m^{r}.chaunts LX or IIII^{xxxii}. then they knew themselves, and were dailie reddie to s^{r}rve as good chepe as straungers did, whiche, S^{r}. I wold wishe again in this time of extremity to be usid, for that I knowe o^{r}. m^{r}.chaunts be able to do yt, because the debt is divided into many menne's hands, and by no meanes cannot hinder them having intrest. Other I have not to molest you wth.all, but that as the 12 of this present M^{r}. Benedik Spinola brought home to my house a m^{r}chaunt of Janua, calid Thomas Ragio, to take his leave of me, to knowe if he could plesure me wth. any thing in Flaunders; and, as I thanked him, so, emongs other comunication of p^{r}fit, and for s^{r}.vice by his ministrie, he desired me to be his frend for such monney as the Q.' Ma^{tie}. hath of his in the Towr. With that I asked him what his somme was, and he sayed xx or xxx^{ti}. ducats: but by talke I p^{r}ceive he hathe muche more with other of his frinds. Now, S^{r}., seeing this monney in the Towr dothe app^{r}tain

to m^r^.chaunts, I wold wishe the Q.' Ma^tie^. to putt it to the use of some p~ fitt ; as to mynt it into her owne coyne, wherbye she shall be a gaynor III or IIII^xil^., and enriche her relm w^th^. so much fyne silv^r^. : and for the re-payment thereof her Highnes maie paie it bie the waie of exchaunge, or otherwise, to her gret fardell and profit ; as also her Ma^tie^. maie take it up of the said m^r^.chaunts upon intrest, uppon the bands accustomid, for a yere or twoo, whiche I think they wilbe right glad of; and so w^th^. the said monney her Ma^tie^. maie paie her debts both heare and in Flaunders, to the gret honnor and credit of her Ma^tie^. throughout all Xtendom ; as knowith the L. who pres~rve you, with the increse of honnor. From Gresham House, the 14 of August, 1569,

At yo^r^. Honnor's commandment,

THOMAS GRESHAM.

S^r^. I most humbly thancke you for the remembrans that yow have of my sewte for my Lady Mary Grey, and for my lande at Oysterley."

Cecil, convinced and encouraged by these arguments, laid them before the Queen, who determined to take the steps recommended by them, and Gresham, to forward the more effectually his advice by his own example, sent, in the succeeding month, to the Tower five sacks of new Spanish reals, each sack weighing nearly one thousand pounds, to be coined for the Queen's use, as his own individual contribution ; but he had calculated erroneously on the disposition of the London merchants to lend. He proposed the matter to them, and they, to shift from themselves the odium of a direct refusal, referred it as a public question to the assembly called a common hall, by which, even then distinguished by its vulgar and senseless inclination to oppose indiscriminately all measures instituted by the ministers of the Crown, it was negatived. Gresham treated these persons with the disdain which they merited. Abandoning his original intention of negotiating the loan with privacy, he procured a letter from the Privy Council to the great company of Merchant Adventurers, which may be found

at length in Stowe's Survey, remonstrating with them in plain terms on the subterfuge which had been thus used by many of their members in their individual capacity, and reproaching them with ingratitude to the Crown, which had constantly and carefully forwarded their best interests. The Merchant Adventurers, ashamed not less of the inferior people with whom some of them had thus associated themselves, than of the narrow views with which they had formed that connection, readily agreed to furnish the sum required, and lent Elizabeth sixteen thousand pounds on her bonds, at the then moderate interest of six per cent. She, on her part, testified her gratitude to them, and to Gresham, by honouring him, on the twenty-third of January, 1570, with a visit at his house in Bishopsgate Street, where she dined, and, on returning in the evening by Cornhill, entered the Burse, with more than ordinary pomp, and caused a herald to proclaim that it should thenceforth be called by the name of " the Royal Exchange."

In the summer of 1572 the Queen, resolving to make a progress longer than ordinary, thought fit, from some motive of jealousy of her good citizens of London, now forgotten, to issue a commission rather of an unusual nature, by which the Archbishop of Canterbury, and eight other distinguished persons, were authorized and commanded to assist the Lord Mayor with their counsel for the good government and peace of the city during the absence of herself and her Court and ministers. Sir Thomas Gresham was of the number; the measure was thought to have produced such good effects, that it was always resorted to on similar occasions during that reign; and his name was constantly inserted. It is probable, indeed, considering the importance of his connexion at once with the Court and the city, that the exercise of this office fell chiefly on him. In the following year, through his care and exertions, the Queen's bonds to the London merchants were punctually discharged; and this proof of good faith so fixed his credit, that his future negotiations for similar loans were always managed without distrust or difficulty. In 1576 he was joined in a commission with Burghley, Walsingham and Martin, master of the

Mint, to enquire into the nature of foreign exchanges, and with this appointment his public employment seems to have ended.

He had for some years meditated the foundation of a distinguished place of education for the sons of citizens of London, but seems to have been undetermined where to establish it. Each of the Universities addressed itself to him on this subject, soliciting the preference with that pertinacious importunity generally used by corporate societies; and Gresham, who really seems to have previously hesitated between Oxford and Cambridge, was perhaps induced by this indecorum to fix on London. He resolved to convert his ample dwelling in Bishopsgate Street into a college: to endow it with the revenues arising from the profits of the Royal Exchange, and to place it under the care of the same trustees to whom he had already committed the charge of that superb property. By a deed of the twenty-fourth of May, 1575, and by his last will, dated the fifth of the following July, he vested the latter edifice in the corporation of London and the company of mercers, to be equally enjoyed by them; the City to pay out of its moiety an annual salary of fifty pounds each to four professors of divinity, astronomy, music, and geometry; the mercers to pay the same stipend to three in law, physic, and rhetoric. These professors to reside, and to read their lectures, in his mansion, afterwards called Gresham College, to which he annexed eight almshouses, to be maintained from the same source, which he charged also with liberal pensions to several hospitals and prisons. This laudable and generous institution flourished usefully till the end of the succeeding century, when, the revolution having totally broken down the fences which even till then had kept the different classes of society in some degree distinct from each other, the citizens became too haughty to accept of gratuitous instruction: Gresham College dwindled gradually till the year 1768, when an act was passed for the purchase of it by the commissioners of the Excise: it was pulled down: and the present Excise office was erected on its site. A room, over part of the Exchange, was appointed for the lectures, which have long been in a great measure

discontinued. As the salaries remain, the professorships still exist. All the rest is nearly extinct.

Sir Thomas Gresham died of apoplexy on the twenty-first of November, 1579, and was buried in the parish church of St. Helen, in Bishopsgate Street. By his wife, Anne, daughter of William Ferneley, of West Creting, in Norfolk, and relict of William Read of Fulham, in Middlesex, a merchant of London, he had, as has been observed, an only son, Richard, who died young. He left however a natural daughter, the fruit of an amour with a native of Bruges, whom he gave in marriage, portioned with considerable estates in Norfolk and Suffolk, to Nathaniel, second son of Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper, whose wife was sister to the Lady Gresham.

Engraved by H.Robinson.

HENRY FITZALAN, EARL OF ARUNDEL.

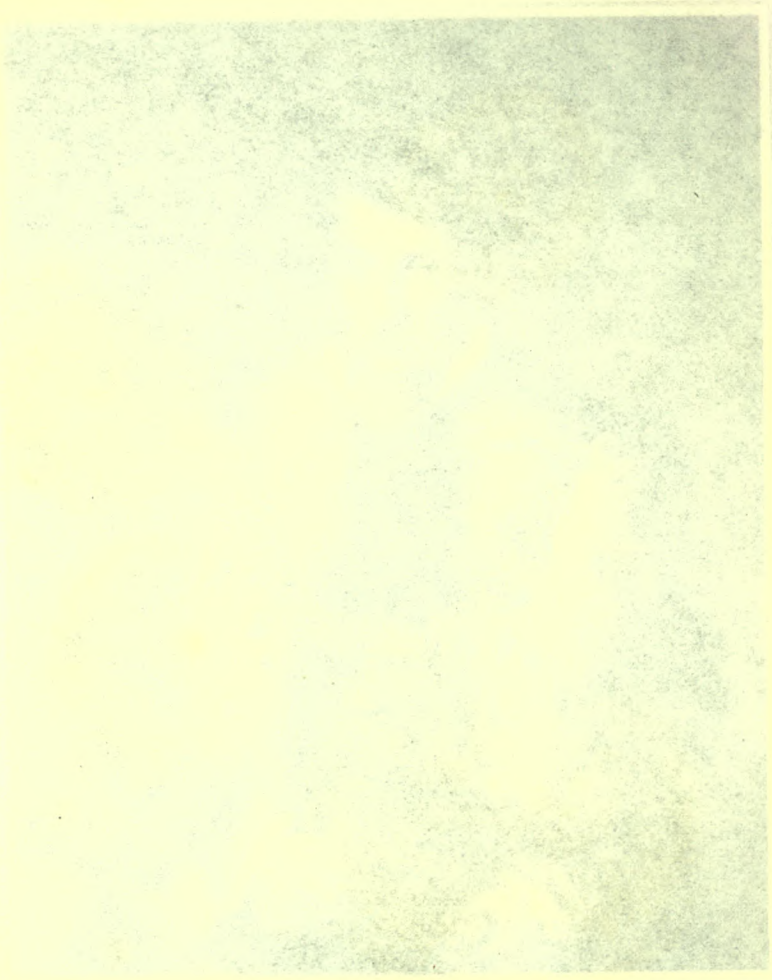
OB. 1580.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF HOLBEIN, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF BATH.

London, Published Decr 1, 1806, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

century, and little
too late to endeavour to
born in 1512, the only
second daughter of Henry,
Percys. He had passed the age of thirty before he succeeded,
his father's death, to the titles and great estates of his ancestors,
and his life had been till then confined, according to the rule of



HENRY FITZALAN,

EARL OF ARUNDEL.

The first attempt is now made to bring into one view the dispersed relics of this very eminent person's story. In searching for them, regret has been excited at every step by evident presumptions that innumerable circumstances of that story have been long lost in utter oblivion. In the life of a man of exalted rank, not less distinguished by the vigour of his talents than by his honesty and high spirit; continually in the service of the Crown, under four Monarchs the characters of whose minds and tempers, and the policy of whose governments, were dissimilar even to opposition; devoted with the most faithful and unbending resolution to a religion which he saw alternately cherished and proscribed by those Princes, professed and abjured by his compeers; what interesting facts must have occurred! what dangers must he not have encountered, what difficulties must he not have surmounted! Those curiosities, however, have been sacrificed to the dulness or the timidity of the historians of the seventeenth century, and little remains of him but an outline which it is now too late to endeavour to fill up.

Henry Fitzalan, the last Earl of Arundel of his family, was born in 1512, the only son of William, the ninth Earl, by Anne, second daughter of Henry, fourth Earl of Northumberland of the Percys. He had passed the age of thirty before he succeeded, on his father's death, to the titles and great estates of his ancestors, and his life had been till then confined, according to the rule of

domestic subordination which generally prevailed in that time, to the sports of the field, and the festivities and warlike exercises of the Court. In the summer, however, of the following year, 1544, he attended Henry in his splendid voyage to Boulogne, and was appointed, on his arrival there, Field Marshal of the army then employed in the remarkable siege of that town, under the command of Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. The success of the enterprise was at least completed by his vigilance and courage. In the night of the eleventh of September, after the siege had been carried on for six weeks, he marched the squadron committed to his charge close under the walls, and there awaited the event of a furious discharge of cannon which played on them over his head. It proved fortunate: a breach was effected: and he, at the head of his troops, first entered the town, which two days after capitulated. The King rewarded this service by a grant of the Government of Calais, and of the office of Comptroller of the Royal Household. Henry loved bravery, but he loved yet better implicit obedience, of which he received shortly after from this nobleman a remarkable proof. He had been appointed with others, to negotiate a treaty with the Scots, the terms proposed for which had received the unanimous approbation of the Council, but were secretly disliked by the King. Henry, unwilling to disoblige his ministers, permitted them to write in his name to the Earl to conclude the treaty, but in the same hour commanded Cecil, whom he had lately received into much confidence, to repair privately to the Earl, in Scotland, and to tell him that, whatsoever he, the King, had ordered by his letter, it was his Majesty's pleasure that he should immediately break up the treaty. Cecil observing to the King, to use the words of my author, "that a message by word of mouth, being contrary to his letter, would never be believed; 'Well,' said the King, 'do you tell him as I bid you, and leave the doing of it to his own choice.' Upon Mr. Cecil's arrival, the Earl of Arundel showed the other commissioners as well the message as the letter: they are all for the letter. He said nothing, but ordered that the message should

be written, and signed by his fellow commissioners; and thereupon immediately broke up the treaty, sending Cecil with the advertisement of it to the King, who, as soon as he saw him, asked aloud—'What, will he do it, or no?' Cecil replied, that his Majesty might understand that by the enclosed; but then the King, half angry, urged—'Nay, tell me, will he do it, or no?' Being then told it was done, he returned to the Lords, and said, 'Now you will hear news, the fine treaty is broken;' whereto one presently answered, that he who had broke it deserved to lose his head; to which the King straightly replied, that he would lose a dozen such heads as his was that so judged rather than one such servant as had done it, and therewith commanded the Earl of Arundel's pardon should be presently drawn up, the which he sent, with letters of thanks, and assurance of favour." Henry, soon after his return, appointed him Lord Chamberlain, and, in his last moments, which indeed were then approaching, distinguished him by naming him one of the guardians of the infant successor.

In the great conflict for power between Seymour and Dudley which agitated the following reign, it was scarcely possible for any eminent person connected with the state or court to remain neuter. The Earl of Arundel, who continued Lord Chamberlain, seems to have endeavoured to keep that course for a time, but at length joined the faction of Warwick, and when the first storm broke out against the Protector, was appointed, partly from confidence, and in some measure in consideration of his high office in the household, one of the six Lords under whose care, or rather in whose custody, the King was placed, to frustrate any attempt by the other party to seize his person. It was not possible, however, that two such men should remain long united. The grand features of Warwick's disposition were, an ambition wholly unprincipled, and a violence of temper which broke through all the bounds of prudence; while Arundel, to use the words of Sir John Hayward, perhaps the only writer of credit who has left us any glimpse of the character of his mind, was, "in his nature

circumspect and slow," as well as of undoubted probity. Scarcely three months had passed, when the Earl was suddenly deprived of his post, and of his seat in the Privy Council, and strange accusations, which have been most obscurely recorded, were preferred against him, and some other great men. All that we can learn on this head is, that he was charged with "having taken away bolts and locks at Westminster" (probably meaning from the palace, where Edward was in a manner imprisoned), and that he "had given away the King's stuff." The tribunal, probably the packed remains of Warwick's Council, which affected to take cognizance of these alleged offences, committed him for a time to the Tower, fined him in twelve thousand pounds, to be paid at the rate of one thousand pounds yearly, and afterwards banished him to one of his country seats. "Doubtless," says Hayward on this head, "the Earl of Warwick had good reason to suspect that they who had the honesty not to approve his purpose would not want the heart to oppose against it."

The Earl of Arundel retired accordingly, and lived in privacy till the King's death, soon after which he appeared among the foremost of the supporters of Mary's title to the Crown; yet Jane Grey, under the advice of her father-in-law, Dudley, now Duke of Northumberland, who was perhaps willing to magnify her strength by concealing her weakness, charged those to whom she wrote to levy forces for the furtherance of her claim to make no application to the servants and tenants of Arundel, "relying on them otherwise for her service." The Earl, however, appeared presently after at the great meeting of Mary's friends at Baynard's Castle, and addressed them with a fervour of eloquence and reasoning which has preserved at least the substance of his speech from oblivion. "In this assembly," says Hayward, "the Earl of Arundel fell foul upon Northumberland with the utmost severity. He ran over the history of the late times, and reckoning up every act of mismanagement, cruelty, and injustice, committed in King Edward the Sixth's reign, threw the odium of all upon him only. Then he made expostulating complaints that the children of

Henry the Eighth should, contrary to all right, be thrust from the succession, and professed himself amazed to think how Northumberland had brought such great and noble persons, meaning those present, to so mean servitude as to be made the tools of his wicked designs; for it was by their consent and assistance that the Crown was put upon the daughter of Suffolk, the same Northumberland's daughter-in-law, the sovereignty in fact remaining in him of exercising the most uncontrollable rage and tyranny over their lives and fortunes. To accomplish this usurpation indeed, the cause of religion was pretended; but, though they had forgot the Apostle's advice, 'not to do evil that good may follow; and to obey even bad Princes, not out of fear, but for conscience' sake;' yet who, he asked, had seen cause to think that in matters of religion Queen Mary intended any alteration? for, when she was lately addressed about this in Suffolk, she had (which indeed was true) given a very fair satisfactory answer; and 'what a madness is it,' says he, 'for men to throw themselves into certain destruction, to avoid uncertain danger!' I heartily wish there had been no such transgression; but, since there has, the best remedy for a past error is a timely repentance; wherefore it is my advice that we all join our utmost endeavours, that so, by our authority, Mary, the rightful and undoubted heiress of these kingdoms, may be proclaimed Queen."

The accession of that Princess to the throne without bloodshed may perhaps be reasonably ascribed to this well-timed harangue, and to the vigour and good judgment with which the Earl pursued the course which he had so warmly advised. The assembly, wound up to a pitch of enthusiasm, rose, and instantly accompanied him into the city, where, having obtained the attendance of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, they proclaimed Mary with universal applause. This done, he took horse the same evening; rode into Suffolk, where she was then awaiting the issue of the contest, to communicate the tidings, and receive her commands; and, on the following day, personally arrested the Duke of Northumberland at Cambridge, and led him, a

prisoner, towards the Tower of London. It is astonishing that such mighty measures should have been proposed and executed in the space of three days; but the whole was actually accomplished on the nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first of July, 1553.

Mary acknowledged these eminent services with becoming gratitude; distinguished him during her short reign by the most perfect confidence; and bestowed on him the offices of President of her Council, and Steward of her household. He was also elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford soon after her accession, a dignity which he of course resigned on the re-establishment of the Protestant Church by Elizabeth. He was not less favoured however by that Princess, who continued him in the post of Lord Steward, and complimented the high antiquity of his name and titles with the exalted appointments of High Constable, and High Steward, of England, at her coronation. He was even one among the few of her eminent subjects who flattered themselves, and had in all probability been flattered by her, with the hope of gaining her hand. It should seem indeed that he had explicitly offered himself, and been rejected; for Dugdale, quoting, I believe erroneously, Camden, says, "Having fed himself with hopes of obtaining Queen Elizabeth for his wife, and failing therein, after he had spent much upon these vain imaginations, his friends in Court failing him, he grew troubled in mind, and thereupon, to wear off the grief, got leave to travel." This happened in 1561. How long he now remained abroad does not appear, but he was in London in December 1565, when he again obtained a license to leave England, and went soon after into Italy, where he seems to have sojourned for four years. In his long absence from his own country he contracted a great fondness for foreign fashions, several of which, on his return, he introduced here, particularly the use of coaches, the first of which ever seen in England was kept by himself.

He seems to have been entirely disengaged from public affairs till the year 1569, when he was appointed one of the Commis-

sioners to inquire into the murder of Henry, King of Scotland, of which he avowed his opinion that Mary was innocent. His generous nature loathed the snares with which Elizabeth and her ministers surrounded that unhappy Princess, and, in a debate in the Privy Council on the suggestion of some new artifice against her, he had the boldness to say, in the Queen's presence, that "the wisdom of the former age was so provident that it needed not, and so plain that it endured not, such shifts." That which was called Mary's party, now reckoned on his uniform support, but his sense of loyalty and justice was as pure as his frankness and impartiality, and when Leicester imparted to him the plan secretly formed for a marriage between the Queen of Scots and the Duke of Norfolk, whose first lady was Arundel's daughter, he declared that he would oppose it to the utmost, unless it were previously sanctioned by Elizabeth's consent. His intercourse, however, with Mary's friends rendered him an object of suspicion, and in 1572 he suffered a short imprisonment in the Tower, after which he sunk gradually in his mistress's favour, and at length wholly lost it by his determined opposition to her matrimonial treaty with the Duke of Anjou. From that time to his death he remained in retirement. "About the beginning of this year," says Camden, in his annals of Elizabeth, 1580, "Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, rendered his soul to God, in whom was extinct the surname of this most noble family, which had flourished with great honour for three hundred years, and more, from the time of Richard Fitzalan, who, being descended from the Albeneys, ancient Earls of Arundel and Sussex in the reign of Edward the First, received the title of Earl, without any creation, in regard of his being possessed of the Castle and Honour of Arundel." He married, first, Catherine, daughter of Thomas Grey, second Marquis of Dorset, by whom he had three children, all of whom he outlived; Henry, who died at Brussels, young, and unmarried; Joan, married to John, Lord Lumley; and Mary, to Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, in right of descent from whose son, Philip, first Earl of Arundel of the Howards, the present Duke of

Norfolk, enjoys that remarkable Earldom, under the tenure so clearly stated by Camden in the foregoing passage, which I have inserted for the sake of elucidating a frequently disputed point. His second lady was Mary, daughter of Sir John Arundel, of Lanherne, in Cornwall, and widow of Robert Radclyffe, Earl of Sussex, by whom he had no issue

Engraved by S. Freeman

JAMES DOUGLAS, EARL OF MORTON.

OB. 1581.

FROM THE ORIGINAL, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF MORTON.

London, Published Dec^r 1, 1806, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

JAMES [illegible]

[illegible]

JAMES D[illegible]
obtained, on the [illegible]
entailing his Earl[illegible]
of his three daugh[illegible]
son of Sir George [illegible]
by Elizabeth, d[illegible]
and their hei[illegible]
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The [illegible]
of Angus, and [illegible]
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the capacity of steward, or chamberlain. The [illegible]

JAMES DOUGLAS,

FOURTH EARL OF MORTON.

James Douglas, third Earl of Morton, having no male issue, obtained, on the twenty-second of April, 1543, a royal charter entailing his Earldom, and the chief of his estates, on the youngest of his three daughters, Elizabeth, and her husband, James, second son of Sir George Douglas, brother to Archibald Earl of Angus, by Elizabeth, daughter and heir of David Douglas, of Pittendreath, and their heirs male. In right of that settlement James, on the death of his father-in-law in 1553, succeeded to the dignity. He will be the subject of this memoir.

The enmity of James the Fifth of Scotland to the great House of Angus, and its causes, are well known to all readers of the history of that country. In the year 1529, the Earl of Angus, and his brother, Sir George, were declared guilty of high treason: their great estates were forfeited, and they fled, with their families, to England, where they remained for fourteen years. Under these untoward circumstances, the education of James, then a boy, is said to have been almost wholly neglected. He was committed to the care of a trusty person of inferior rank; assumed the name of Innes; and, as he approached to manhood, was engaged to serve in the household of some person of quality in the capacity of steward, or chamberlain. The King's death, at

the close of the year 1542, withdrew him from this seclusion; he returned to Scotland with his relations, and having made the advantageous match which has been already mentioned, took on himself, according to the custom of the country, the designation of Master of Morton. His expectations at this period were peculiarly lofty. He was nearly related to royalty, both in his blood and by his marriage, and his capacious and haughty mind, however uncultivated, was amply impressed by the importance of his station.

His entrance into public life seemed to be marked by ill fortune, but chance, or his own dexterity, or both, turned it to his advantage. On the invasion of his country by the English in 1544, he garrisoned, and bravely defended, the castle of Dalkeith, one of the mansions of his family, and probably his place of residence; but in a similar endeavour in 1547, after the defeat of Musselborough, was compelled to surrender it, and was himself led by the victorious Earl of Hertford to England, where he remained a prisoner of war for several years. During that period it has been said that he formed intimacies, and made engagements, which at length bound him to forward the views of this country in Scotland, and that he was placed on the height to which he afterwards attained rather by the predominant influence of the English crown than by the power of his own family, or the extent of his talents. For a considerable time however after his return he lived in utter privacy, applying himself to those studies which had been denied to his youth, and to the improvement of his dilapidated estates; nor was it till 1559 that he emerged from his retirement, when he suddenly stood forward as a patron of the reformers, and enrolled himself among those persons of quality who then took on themselves the style of "Lords of the Congregation." In the following year the Queen Regent, Mary of Guise, expired, and the Parliament, which provisionally assumed the government, dispatched him, together with the Earl of Glencairn, and Maitland of Lethington, on an embassy to Elizabeth, by whom they were most graciously received, and in

this visit to her court Morton's attachment to the English interest was probably confirmed.

On the arrival of Mary Stuart from France, in 1561, he was sworn of her Privy Council; and early in 1563, succeeded George, Earl of Huntly, in the office of Lord High Chancellor. He had gained no small degree of favour with Mary by his approbation of her match with Darnley, though it arose from motives of pride and interest, for Darnley was his relation: on the other hand, his connection with Murray, the leader of the reformers, who had been exiled for his fierce opposition to it, rendered him an object of her suspicion. The affections of Mary regarding him were thus balanced when the assassination of Rizzio in 1566 drew down on him her most deadly hatred. That enormity was the result of a regular treaty between the King and Morton, by which the former had agreed to defend the reformed religion, and to procure a pardon for Murray and his associates; and the Earl, on his part, to secure Henry's succession to the sovereign authority in the event of his surviving the Queen, and to contrive and superintend the murder of the unworthy favourite; and this he did, even in person, for he led the armed force which surrounded the palace during the perpetration of it. Rizzio was scarcely dead, when Murray, and the other exiled Lords, recalled, as has been just now observed, at the instance of Morton, arrived at Edinburgh. Mary, anxious to oppose them to the King's faction, received them as friends, and they, in an affectation of gratitude to Morton, besought her to promise him her pardon. She yielded to their request, and even admitted him to her presence, but was secretly inexorable, and on the very same day persuaded the weak and worthless Darnley to abandon the guilty instrument of his vengeance; to fly privately with her to Dunbar; and there to collect a military force, for the purpose of wresting the capital from Morton and his party, and of sacrificing them to her anger. Murray, tempted by her promises, as readily deserted his benefactor; and Morton, deprived of his great office, and presently after of his estates, once more took refuge in England.

His exile was short. Bothwell, now unhappily the object of Mary's partiality, sought the aid of all parties to the wild design he secretly entertained of sharing with her the Throne. The power, the talents, and the courage of Morton, and perhaps the readiness with which he had so lately undertaken a base and horrible assassination, combined to recommend him; and Bothwell, to whom Mary could then deny nothing, obtained his pardon with little difficulty; communicated to him the dreadful project which had been conceived to destroy the King, and solicited his advice and assistance in the execution of it. Morton hesitated, not from dictates of conscience but of caution, for his answer was that he would not engage in it unless he had an order to secure him under the Queen's sign manual; and, in the same spirit, he took care to be at the distance of twenty miles from Edinburgh when the deed was perpetrated there. It was followed by Mary's infamous marriage to Bothwell, and the consequent association of a considerable number of the most powerful of the Scottish nobility, for the protection of the young Prince, to possess himself of whose person he had left no means untried but those of force. Morton joined them with apparent zeal and alacrity; encouraged them to take up arms; and commanded one of the two battalions into which they divided a force hastily raised for the capture of Bothwell. It is needless to dwell here on events which form one of the most striking epochs in the history of Scotland. Mary, who was with Bothwell at Dunbar, surrounded by some troops, endeavoured to arrest the march of the confederates by proposals of treaty, and offers of pardon; but Morton, whom they had agreed should take the lead, answered that they came not against the Queen, but to demand the murderer of the King: not to seek pardon for their offences, but to grant pardon to such as might appear to deserve it. They advanced; Bothwell, doubtless through the connivance of Morton, was suffered to escape; and Mary, submitting to a hard but deserved necessity, surrendered her person on conditions which were no sooner made than broken, and was the next day led a prisoner by Morton to the castle of

Lochleven, and placed in the custody of the owner, William Douglas, his near relation.

A resignation of the Crown to her infant son was now extorted from her, and Murray was appointed to the Regency. Morton, who to eminent general capacity united that coolness and subtlety which the fury of the time rendered peculiarly necessary to a minister, became the chief adviser of his measures, and the most distinguished object of his favour. On the eleventh of November, 1567, the Regent restored him to the great office of Chancellor, and in the following month appointed him, on the forfeiture of Bothwell, hereditary High Admiral of Scotland, and Sheriff of Edinburgh. So universal was the confidence reposed in him by Murray, that, in the spring of the following year, when Mary escaped from Lochleven, and appeared at the head of an army, he was chosen to command the van of the Regent's troops in the battle of Langside, that unfortunate action which fatally compelled her to seek refuge in England. Morton presently followed her thither. He was the Regent's principal coadjutor in the celebrated conference on her case instituted by Elizabeth at York, and afterwards removed to Westminster, and maintained throughout the whole of that tedious scene of solemn deception a secret correspondence with Cecil, which, while it injured to the last degree the already distracted interests of Mary, contributed in no small degree to increase that dependance of Scotland on the will of Elizabeth which has been usually charged to the condescensions of Murray.

A year had scarcely passed after the close of this negotiation, for so it might be called, when Murray fell by the hand of an assassin. Great disorders arose: a powerful party appeared in arms for the Queen; and Morton, who had for the time placed himself at the head of the government, preferred to Elizabeth a welcome suit for her interposition. The King's party, as it was called, prevailed; and, under her auspices, the Earl of Lenox, father of Darnley, and consequently Mary's implacable enemy, was elected to the Regency. A treaty was now established for

the restoration of Mary, at least to her liberty, and Morton was placed at the head of the three commissioners named by the Regent. The professions of Elizabeth, at whose motion it was commenced, seemed at length to be sincere; but, on the meeting in London of the parties delegated by the three powers, Morton, with a warmth by no means consistent with his character, asserted in high terms the justice of limiting the power of Princes, and the inherent right of resistance in subjects; and Elizabeth, with whom it can scarcely be doubted that a proposed discussion on subjects in that age esteemed so monstrous had been previously concerted, testified the utmost indignation, and broke up the congress. Scotland, in the mean time, was distracted by the excesses of the contending factions. A Parliament chosen by the King's party was sitting at Stirling; another, elected by the Queen's, at Edinburgh. On the third of September, 1571, some of Mary's friends, led by the celebrated Kirkaldy of Grange, made a sudden attack on the former, and seized the persons of the Regent and his principal nobles. Morton, who had lately arrived from England, alone resisted. He defended his house with obstinate courage till the assailants forced him to surrender by setting fire to it. The sole important consequence of this furious enterprise was the death of Lenox, who was killed in the tumult by an unknown hand, for the party, which was very small, and had owed a momentary success merely to the unexpectedness of its attack, was presently dispersed by the soldiers of the garrison, and the people of the town. The Earls of Mar, Morton, and Argyll, presently appeared as candidates for the Regency, and the former gained the election.

Mar held that high office scarcely for one year. Morton, in whose hands the two preceding Regents had in fact lodged the whole direction of the State, still ruled it with unimpaired sway, and the weight of his talents, and the extent of his domains, rendered any endeavour to remove him at once inconvenient and dangerous. In the mean time, he avenged the secret vexation which the disappointment of his pretensions to the Regency had

excited by thwarting the measures of his successful rival, and opposing to his sincere efforts for the establishment of public tranquillity all the artifices of factious intrigue. Mar, a man of moderate intellect and delicate fibre, fell a sacrifice to the contest, and in November, 1572, Morton, chiefly through the powerful aid of Elizabeth, was chosen so succeed him without opposition. Sensible, from the effects of his aversion to peace while he was the second person in the State, how necessary it was to him in his new station, he now opened a treaty with the Queen's party. It was divided into two factions, the one headed by the Duke of Chatelherault and the Earl of Huntly, the other by Maitland and Kirkaldy; the former, of great personal weight, and actuated by motives of cool policy; the latter, distinguished by superior talents and earnest zeal. He determined, while he offered terms to each, to treat separately with the first, and to sacrifice the second to his resentment, and the event amply proved the depth of his policy. The Duke and Huntly eagerly accepted his proposals, but Maitland and Kirkaldy, who possessed the Castle of Edinburgh, enraged at his duplicity, commenced open hostilities by firing on the city. Elizabeth, secretly a party to the plan, sent a considerable military force to Morton's aid in direct violation of a treaty which she had lately concluded with France, and the two gallant chiefs surrendered to her troops, and were perfidiously placed by her general in the hands of the Regent, who put Kirkaldy to an ignominious death, while Maitland, to avoid a similar fate, destroyed himself in his prison. By these events, which however terminated the civil war in Scotland, the interests of Mary in her own country were utterly overthrown.

The nation now expected a benign and prudent administration, and was disappointed. A fierce and tyrannical spirit, which he had long disguised by deep artifice, began to manifest itself in Morton. He was discovered to be avaricious and cruel. In the affairs of the church he enriched himself by simoniacal bargains, and impoverished even the inferior clergy by extorting from them portions of their incomes, under the pretence of forming regula-

tions to better their condition. He alienated from him the affections of the commonalty by innumerable fines exacted in the way of composition for real or supposed offences, which they were frequently compelled to confess by torture. The nobility became at length the objects of his oppression and treachery, and in that simple spirit of haughty fierceness which then distinguished them, carried their complaints of him to the King. James had not fully reached his twelfth year, but the period of royal majority was not yet clearly defined, and his mere name was a tower of strength. The Earls of Argyll and Athol, two of the most powerful among the Peers of Scotland, headed the cabal which was formed against the Regent. The King, at their request, signed letters calling a council of such nobles as they proposed to him, which determined that the Chancellor, Lord Glamis, should demand of Morton his resignation of the Regency, and he submitted even with apparent joy, and accompanied them for that purpose to Edinburgh, where James's acceptance of the sovereign authority was immediately proclaimed.

Morton retired to one of his seats, and affected to devote himself to the usual occupations of a rural life. This however was but refined dissimulation. He meditated incessantly the means of regaining his public importance, and the violence with which his adversaries pursued their vengeance against him after his retreat aided his views. Their popularity presently declined. The nation saw the King and the Government in the hands of Papists, and Morton was still held as the chief protector of the kirk. The ungenerous persecution of a fallen enemy, as he was deemed, was loudly censured; he discovered that he was yet master of a powerful party, and resolved to ground his hopes on the issue of one of those bold and irregular enterprises so frequent in the eventful history of his time. James, the care of whose person had been committed to the Earl of Mar, still remained in the nominal custody of that nobleman's heir, whose youth rendering him unfit to hold so important a trust, it was sustained provisionally by his uncle, Alexander Erskine, Morton's bitter

enemy. Morton now successfully insinuated to the young Earl and his mother that Alexander had formed a design to deprive his nephew of that distinguished honour, as well as of the government of Stirling Castle, in which the King resided; and Mar, in a transport of fury, aggravated by the suggestions of his ambitious mother, flew to Stirling; dismissed his uncle; and made himself master of the King's person, and of the strong garrison by which it was guarded. Morton presently followed him; took his place in the terrified Privy Council; and called a Parliament, in the King's name, to meet within the castle, which confirmed James's assumption of the government; ratified a general pardon which had been granted to Morton on his relinquishing the functions of Regent; and voted a pension to the Countess of Mar, who had in fact been the chief instrument of working this singular change.

Both parties now appeared in arms, and took the field with considerable strength, but an accommodation was made by the mediation of Elizabeth, to whose will Morton always implicitly submitted. Some of the most eminent of his opponents were admitted into the Privy Council; a convention of the Nobility was chosen, to which the two factions agreed to refer their differences; and an apparent reconciliation succeeded; but it was followed by a horrible circumstance, which, with too much probability, was ascribed to the vindictive spirit of Morton. To celebrate the accord which had been thus accomplished, he gave a banquet to the leaders of his late enemies, immediately after which the Earl of Athol, High Chancellor, a man of eminent abilities, and his constant opponent, was suddenly taken ill, and died within four days, with the strongest suspicions of poison: Morton however succeeded in turning this tragical event to his advantage, and purchased the powerful support of Argyll, by bestowing on him the elevated office of his late principal coadjutor. Having thus divided and weakened the potent band which had been arrayed against him, he poured the full tide of his vengeance on the great house of Hamilton, his calm but steady

adversaries, in a persecution which, as it is rather largely stated in a section of this work to which it more properly appertains, need not be here repeated.

Morton perhaps enjoyed at this time a more extensive power than had distinguished any former period of his long and eventful administration, yet utter ruin advanced towards him with hasty strides from an unseen and unexpected quarter. James, now in the fifteenth year of his age, exercised independently many of the functions of a Monarch, and more of the faculties of a man. The violent and thoughtless personal attachments which disgraced the whole of his long reign had naturally at this season their fullest scope, and two youthful favourites, of his own blood, Esme Stewart, of the House of Lenox, and James Stewart, a younger son of the Lord Ochiltree, on whom he conferred the highest dignities and the most splendid appointments, engrossed his affections, and directed his conduct. With the carelessness and confidence which suited their time of life, they shared the kindness of their master without jealousy, but, in the love of power which belongs to all ages, Morton's authority became odious to them, and they combined to overthrow it. His danger was presently evident, and he endeavoured to obviate it by firm and decisive measures. He denounced Stewart Lenox, who was in fact a Roman Catholic, to the clergy, as a secret agent from the Pope, and to the State, as an emissary from the Guises; but Lenox made a public abjuration of the Romish faith, and embraced the communion of the Church of Scotland. In the mean time Morton's ancient enemies took advantage of his embarrassment, and spread a report that he was preparing to seize the King, and to carry him into England. He sought, as usual, the protection of Elizabeth, who instructed her Ambassador to charge Lenox as a secret enemy to the peace of the two kingdoms, and to require his removal from the Privy Council, but that body, as well as the King, refused with coolness, not to say disdain, to listen to her instances. At the close of this contest, Stewart of Ochiltree, whose

comparative insignificance had rendered him a secondary object of apprehension, suddenly appeared in the council chamber where James was then sitting, and falling on his knees, accused Morton, who was present, of being accessory to the murder of the late King.

The general pardon which Morton had received, however particular in the enumeration of causes which might possibly render him liable to prosecution, had left that frightful subject untouched. It was well known that he was privy to the design, and his concealment of it has been already stated. He was arrested, and, as an earnest of the fate he might expect, was committed successively to the custody of two of his most determined enemies, Alexander Erskine, and Lenox, Governors of the castles of Edinburgh and Dunbarton. Elizabeth interposed to save him with a zeal and earnestness which left no doubt of her obligations to his secret agency. She dispatched Randolph, one of her ablest diplomatists, to represent in the warmest colours, not only to the King and Council, but to a Convention of the Estates, the merits and services of Morton; to require the fullest and fairest inquiry into the true merits of the allegations urged against him; to insist again on the dismissal of Lenox; and even to offer, should force appear necessary to the accomplishment of those objects, any degree of aid, either of men or money, which might be deemed requisite to that end. To these persuasions she added a silent menace of no small weight, by sending an army to the borders.

James however, indeed Scotland, remained equally unmoved by her remonstrances or her preparations. Morton was brought to trial on the first of June, 1581, and found guilty of being, to use the language of the Scottish law, art and part in Darnley's murder. The records of the Court of Justiciary appertaining to that period are not extant, and historical writers, biassed by party spirit, differ in their reports of the proceedings against him; but thus much is certain, that after his sentence had been passed, he distinctly owned Bothwell's disclosure to him of the intended assassination. On the following day he was led to execution; his

enemy, Stewart of Ochiltree, commanding in person the soldiers who guarded the scaffold, a shocking instance of the barbarous rudeness of the time. He confessed there that it was his design to have sent James into England, but alleged that the resolution was dictated by an opinion that it would be proper that the King should in his youth reside at intervals among a people over whom he was one day to reign; and that he considered it to be necessary towards securing the succession to the Crown of that country. He suffered death with great firmness, and a decent shew of piety and resignation. Morton left no issue.

Engraved by H.Robinson.

THOMAS RADCLYFFE, EARL OF SUSSEX.

OB. 1583.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF SIR ANTONIO MORE, IN THE POSSESSION OF

WILLIAM RADCLYFFE, ESQ.

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THOMAS RADCLYFFE,

EARL OF SUSSEX.

Such was the man whose [illegible] imparted to the world.

He was born in 1526, the eldest son of Henry, second Earl of Sussex of the Radclyffes, by his first wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Howard, second Duke of Norfolk. He was bred a states-

THOMAS RADCLYFFE,

EARL OF SUSSEX.

The circumstances, important as they were, of the life of this very great and good man, have been suffered till this day to lie scattered on the page of history; and in the number, which is not inconsiderable, of biographical omissions, no one has appeared to me so remarkable. Neither has his portrait (with one or two exceptions, so mean as scarcely to challenge recollection,) been delivered to us by the graver. In a former work I gave a very slight sketch of his character, merely in a note, for the re-publication here of a few sentences from which perhaps no apology may be necessary. "This great man's conduct united all the splendid qualities of those eminent persons who jointly rendered Elizabeth's court an object of admiration to Europe and was perfectly free from their faults. Wise and loyal as Burghley, without his blind attachment to the monarch; vigilant as Walsingham, but disdaining his cunning; magnificent as Leicester, but incapable of hypocrisy; and brave as Raleigh, with the piety of a primitive Christian; he seemed above the common objects of human ambition, and wanted, if the expression may be allowed, those dark shades of character which make men the heroes of history." Such was the man whose story has never yet been collectively imparted to the world.

He was born in 1526, the eldest son of Henry, second Earl of Sussex of the Radclyffes, by his first lady, Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Howard, second Duke of Norfolk. He was bred a states-

man from his early youth, and was not only sent Ambassador by Queen Mary to the Emperor Charles the Fifth, and then to his son, Philip the Fourth of Spain, to treat of her projected marriage to the latter Prince, but filled for a time the office of Lord Deputy of Ireland, before he had reached his thirtieth year. Shortly after his father's death, which happened in 1556, he was appointed Chief Justice of the Royal Forests south of Trent, and in 1557, being then a Knight of the Garter, held the place of Captain of the Pensioners, and had a renewal of his commission as Lord Deputy. Elizabeth also named him to that office immediately after she had mounted the throne; and in 1561 constituted him her Lieutenant and Governor General in Ireland. In 1566 he was sent to Germany, to invest the Emperor Maximilian the second with the Order of the Garter, and returned to Vienna in the following year, commissioned to treat of a marriage between that Prince's brother, the Archduke Charles, and Elizabeth. In 1569 he was appointed President of the North, a situation in those times always of the highest trust and importance, and at that peculiar juncture rendered infinitely difficult by the singular state of her affairs with Scotland, and the turbulent spirit of the border counties. Those circumstances led him now for the first time to assume a military character: he placed himself at the head of the troops in that quarter, and, while he wisely administered the civil affairs of his government by his orders from the camp, commanded with equal bravery and skill in a number of those predatory incursions to which the border warfare was then confined. While he was employed in these services he was sworn of the Privy Council.

He returned, after two years' absence, to the melancholy duty of sitting in judgment with his peers, on Thomas, fourth Duke of Norfolk, who was not only his kinsman, but his most dear friend, and whose ruin might be traced, in a great measure, to his neglect of the Earl's advice. Of Sussex's suffrage on that occasion we are ignorant, but I believe the twenty-five Lords by whom the Duke was tried were unanimous in their verdict. Be this as it may,

the unfortunate Norfolk left a dying testimony of his affection to a judge whom he knew to be impartial. His last request was that his best George, Chain, and Garter, might be given to his Lord of Sussex. 1572, having become infirm, though scarcely beyond the prime of life, he retired from severer duties to the office of Lord Chamberlain of the Household, which he held till his death. His last public service was in the treaty of 1582 with the commissioners sent from Paris, to negociate the long agitated treaty of marriage of Elizabeth with the Duke of Anjou.

It may not be too much to say that in the list of her counsellors she trusted this nobleman above all others; certain it is that no one among them so entirely deserved her confidence. Both these opinions are justified by the voice of history, and proved by his own letters, many of which I am proud of having formerly been the instrument of first producing to the world. He was probably in the strictest sense of the phrase, her privy counsellor, and therefore little of his political story has been within the reach of the historian. Between him and Leicester the most pure hatred subsisted, and Elizabeth, who there is strong reason to suspect dreaded the resentment of the latter rather from private than public motives, perhaps durst not consult his great enemy but in secret. Sussex in his confidential letters to her, addressed her with the freedom, as well as the kindness, of a friend—writing to her, at great length, on the twenty-eighth of August, 1578, on the question of the French marriage, which was then first agitated, he uses these expressions—"You shall, by the helpe of your husband, be habell to compell the K. of Spayne to take reasonabell condytyons of his subjects in the Lowe Contryes, and the Stats to take reasonabell condytyons of ther K. so as he may have that which before God and man dothe justely belong to him, and they may enjoye ther lybertyes, fredomes, and all other thynges that is feete for ther quyett and suertye, in bodyes, goods, conscyences, and lyves; wherby you shall avoyde grete effusyon of Crystyen blodd, and shall have the honor and reward, dew in this wordell and by God, to so gracyouse, godly, and Crystyen

actyons: and herewith, for the more suerty of all persones and mattrs, yourselfe maye have in your owne hands some marytyme porte, to be by you kepte, at the charge of the K. of Spayne; and your husband maye have some frontyer townes in lyke sorte; and bothe to be contynued for such a nomber of yeres as may bryng a settelyng of suerty to all respects; by which meanes you shall also be delyvered from perrells, at home and abrode, that maye growe from the K. of Spayne. And, yf you lyke not of this corse in dealyng for the Lowe Contryes, you may joyne with your husband, and so, betwene you, attempte to possesse the hole Lowe Contryes, and drawe the same to the Crowne of England, yf you have eny chyld by him; or, yf you have none, to devyde them betwene the realmes of England and Fraunce, as shall be mettest for ether; but, to be playne with your Majesté, I do not thynk this corse to be so juste, so godly, so honorabell, nor, when it is loked into the bottome, so suer for you and your State as the other, although at the first syght it do perhaps earrye in shewe some plausybylyté, &c."

From this instance of the manner of his private correspondence, we will turn to an example of the more studied style which he used in his quality of an Ambassador. In a letter from Vienna of the eighteenth of October, 1567, he thus describes the Archduke Charles—"His Highnes is of person higher suerly a good deale then my L. Marques: his heare of heade and bearde of a lighte aborne: his face well proportioned, amiable, and of a very good compleccon, without shewe of readnesse or over paleness; his countenance and speehe cherefull, very curteowse, and not withowte some state: his body wellshaped, withowte deformitie or blemishe: his hands very good and fayer: his leggs cleane, well proporcioned, and of sufficiant bignes for his stature: his fote as good as may be: so as, upon my dutie to your Majesté, I find not one deformitie, mis-shape, or any thynge to be noted worthy mislikinge, in his hole person; but, contrarywise, I find his hole shape to be good, worthy comendacyon and likynge in all respects, and such as is rarely to be founde in such a Prince,

His Highnes, besids his naturall language of Duche, speaketh very well Spanish and Italien, and as I heare, Latine. His dealyngs with me be very wise; his conversacyon such as moche contenteth me; and, as I heare, none retorneth discontented from his company. He is greatly beloved here of all men. The chefest gallants of these parts be his men, and follow his Corte: the moste of them have travelled other contreis, speake many languags, and behave themselfs therafter; and truly we can not be so gladde there to have him come to us, as they wilbe sadde here to have him go from them. He is reported to be wise, liberall, valeante, and of greate courage, which in the last warres he well showed in defending all his contreis free from the Turk, with his owne force onlye, and gevinge them diverse overthrowes when they attempted any thinge against his rules; and he is universally (which I most weye) noted to be of suche vertue as he was never spotted or touched with any notable vice or cryme, which is moche of a Prynce of his yeares, indued with such qualities. He deliteth moche in huntinge, ridinge, hawkinge, exercise of feats of armes, and hearinge of musicke, wherof he hathe very good. He hath, as I heare, some understandinge in astronomy and cosmography, and taketh pleasure in clocks that sett forthe the cowrse of the planetts. He hath for his porcyon," &c. &c.

We have here the pen of an historian in the hand of a statesman: a pure, simple, and exalted, method of composition which arose out of the nature of the writer, and which differed as widely from the artificial and turgid quaintness which was the fashion of his time as did the character of his own mind and heart from those of his compeers. I trust I shall be excused for adding one more short extract, as it is so highly illustrative of the qualities of both, from a letter, written in a moment of anger, to Sir William Cecil, on the twenty-third of January, 1569. After stating the ground of his complaint, which related to some judicial matters in his office of President of the North, he proceeds—"I was first a Lieutenante: I was after little better then a Marshall: (I had then nothing left to me but to direct hanging

matters; in the meane tyme all was disposed that was within my comission) and nowe I am offered to be made a shrief's bayly, to deliver over possessions. Blame me not, good Mr. Secretarie, though my pen utter sumwhat of that swell in my stomake, for I see I am but kepte for a brome, and when I have done my office to be throwen owt of the dore. I am the first nobelman hathe ben thus used. Trewe service deserveth honor and credite, and not reproche and open defaming: but, seeing the one is ever delyvered to me in stede of the other, I must leave to serve, or lose my honor; which, being continewed so long in my howse, I wolde be lothe shoolde take blemishe with me. These matters I knowe procede not from lacke of good and honorabell meaning in the Q. Majestie towards me, nor from lacke of dewté and trewthe in me towards her, which grevethe me the more; and therfore, seing I shalbe still a camelyon, and yelde no other shewe then as it shall please others to give the couller, I will content myself to live a private lyfe. God send her Majesté others that mean as well as I have done."

Such was his variety of talent, and of cultivation, at a period when the closest application of the dry and obscure subtleties of logic to theological or political controversy was considered as the highest proof of mental accomplishment. For his integrity, his loyalty, and his exalted sense of honour, it might be sufficient to say that he was the only one of Elizabeth's servants, rarely distinguished as most of them were, on whom the slightest suspicion never fell. His conduct in his government of Ireland was equally sagacious, resolute and humane. "By his prudence," says Fuller, "he caused that actual rebellion brake not out there, and no wonder if in his time it rained not war there, seeing his diligence dispersed the clouds before they could gather together." Even his foreign negociations seem to have been conducted in that spirit of candour which never left him, for in his many diplomatic despatches which I have perused, I never discovered an instance of active deception; yet his conduct in that character was never taxed with weakness or imprudence. His bitter enmity to the favourite,

Leicester, in common with the rest of his sentiments, was open and professed. It was a war of wisdom against cunning; of truth against hypocrisy; of virtue against guilt. "A constant court faction," says Fuller again, "was maintained between him and Robert Earl of Leicester, so that the Sussexians and Leicesterians divided the court, whilst the Cecilians, as neuters, did look upon them. Sussex was the honester man, and greater soldier; Leicester the more facete courtier, and deep politician, not for the general good, but his particular profit. Great was the animosity betwixt them, and what in vain the Queen endeavoured death performed, taking this Earl" (Sussex) "away, and so the competition was at an end." Camden too, who seems to suppose that this discord originated in their vehement opposition of opinion on the treaty of marriage with the Archduke, informs us that "they divided the court into parties and factions; and the Earls, whenever they went abroad, carried great retinues of servants, with swords and bucklers, with iron pikes pointing out at the bosses, according to the then mode, as if they resolved to have a trial of skill for it." Yet Sussex's indignation could not abate his sense of justice. When Elizabeth, in a paroxysm of jealousy on the sudden discovery of Leicester's marriage to the Countess of Essex, would have committed him to the Tower, Sussex, "out of a solid judgment, and the innate generosity of his own mind," as Camden well says, dissuaded her from it, "being of opinion that no man was to be troubled for lawful marriage, which amongst all men had ever been held in honour and esteem."

He was one of the very few of Elizabeth's servants who experienced any substantial proofs of her gratitude. She granted to him in 1573 several valuable manors and estates in Essex, particularly the noble palace and park of Newhall in the parish of Boreham, which Henry the Eighth, whose favourite residence it was, had enlarged to a vast extent, and to which he had given the name of Beaulieu. There Sussex lived in the utmost profusion even of feudal magnificence and hospitality. The singular splendour of the place suited the grandeur of his spirit, and he

was anxious to attach it firmly to his family; yet it was sold by his nephew even as early as the year 1620 to Villiers Duke of Buckingham. He resided occasionally too at his mansion of Woodham Walter, and Attleburgh, in Norfolk, and at his manor of Bermondsey, where he died on the ninth of June, 1583. He was buried at Boreham, and we find in his will a curious proof of the great expense which was then usually bestowed on the funerals of the great. He says "I desire that my body shall be by myne executors, decently and comely, without unnecessary pomp or charges, but only having respect to my dignity and state, buried in the parish church of Boreham, in Essex, where I will that my funerals shall be performed and kept, provided always, and my will is, that myne executors shall not dispend in and about my funerall obsequies more than fifteen hundredth pounds;" a sum at least equal to ten thousand pounds in our time, but then prescribed as for a private funeral, and in the certainty that his executors would have far exceeded it, had he not thus limited them.

This great Earl was twice married, first to Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Wriothesly, Earl of Southampton, by whom he had two sons, Henry, and Robert, both of whom died young. By his second, Frances, daughter of Sir William, sister of Sir Henry, and aunt of Sir Philip Sidney, the foundress by her will of Sidney College in Cambridge, he had no issue. His next brother, Henry, therefore succeeded to his honours and estates.

Engraved by W.H. Mote

EDWARD CLINTON, EARL OF LINCOLN.

OB. 1584.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF KETEL IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE, THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

London, Published Dec^r 1. 1836, by J. Harding & J. Lepard, Pall Mall East.

EDWARD CLINTON,

EARL OF LINCOLN.

The family of this nobleman had enjoyed the dignity of the Peerage nearly for three hundred years, yet, with the exception of its common ancestor, Geoffery de Clinton, whom we find styled Lord Chamberlain, Treasurer to the King, and Justice of England, under Henry the First, none of his progenitors appear to have held any public situations, beyond such municipal offices as are usually filled by owners of large estates in their respective provinces. He was the only son of Thomas, eighth Lord Clinton, by Mary, a natural daughter of Sir Edward Poynings, Knight of the Garter; and it is probable that no small share of the favour in which that gentleman was held by Henry the Eighth, devolved on this young nobleman through that marriage.

He was born in the year 1512, and at the death of his father, which occurred on the seventh of August, 1517, fell in wardship to the Crown. Educated in the Court, his youth was passed in those magnificent and romantic amusements which distinguished the commencement of Henry's reign; nor was it till 1544, that he appeared in any public character. In that year he attended the Earl of Hertford, and Dudley, Lord Lisle, afterwards Duke of Northumberland, in their expedition to Scotland, and is said then to have engaged in the naval service in consequence of his intimacy with the latter, who commanded the English fleet. He was knighted at Leith by Hertford, who commanded in chief, and then embarked with the admiral, Lisle, who, having scoured the

coast of Scotland, landed at Boulogne, which was at that time besieged by the King in person.

At the commencement of the following reign he was appointed admiral of the fleet which aided the Protector's great irruption into Scotland; and, owing to a singular circumstance, is said to have had a considerable share in the victory of Musselborough, without quitting his ships; for the van of the English army having changed its position, the Scots imagined that it was flying to the fleet, and so forsook the high ground on which they had been advantageously posted, and, following the English to the shore, were received with a furious discharge of cannon, which threw them into irrecoverable disorder. Soon after this period Lord Clinton was constituted Governor of Boulogne, and, on his return from thence, after the peace of 1550, was appointed of the King's Privy Chamber; Lord Admiral of England for life; and a Knight of the Garter. To these distinctions were added grants of estates to a very considerable amount. In 1551 he represented his royal master at Paris, as godfather to the third son of France, afterwards Henry the Third. He negotiated at the same time the fruitless treaty of marriage intended between Edward the Sixth, and Elizabeth, daughter of Henry the Second of France, and brought home with him the instrument of its ratification.

Edward died soon after the conclusion of this embassy, and Lord Clinton, having recommended himself to the favour of that Prince's successor by his early expression of attachment to her title to the Crown, was sent in 1554, together with others of the loyal nobility, at the head of a military force, against Sir Thomas Wyat. In the autumn of the next year he carried the Order of the Garter to Emanuel, Duke of Savoy; and in 1557 had a principal command in the English army at the siege of St. Quintin. On the thirteenth of February, 1558, O. S., his patent of Lord Admiral was renewed, and on the twelfth of April following, he was appointed Commander-in-chief, both by sea and land, of the forces then sent against France and Scotland. Elizabeth continued him in the post of Admiral; chose him of her Privy

Council; appointed him a Commissioner to examine Murray's charges against the Queen of Scots: and joined him to Dudley, Earl of Warwick, in the command of the army sent in 1569 against the rebellious Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland. He was one of the twenty-five Peers, who, in January, 1572, N.S., sat in judgment on Thomas, Duke of Norfolk. On the fourth of the succeeding May, he was advanced to the dignity of Earl of Lincoln, and was immediately after dispatched to Paris, with a splendid train of nobility and gentry, to attend the ratification of the treaty of Blois by Charles the Ninth.

The remainder of his life presents nothing worthy of note, for we find only that he was occasionally employed in the mere formalities of that tedious treaty of marriage with Francis, Duke of Anjou, Elizabeth's motives for the commencement and dissolution of which, were ever equally unknown, even to those of her ministers whom she most trusted. It should seem indeed that there was little historically eminent in this nobleman's character: that he was valued by the monarchs whom he served rather for his probity and his fidelity than for his talents, which being probably of a sort and measure best adapted to the conduct of warlike affairs, afforded little worth remembrance during the long season of public tranquillity which detached him from such services. Some imperfect judgment of the powers of his mind may be formed from the two following letters to Lord Burghley, written at different periods of his life, and now first published, from the Harleian collection: nor indeed are they otherwise destitute of interest, particularly the second, written even while the detestable Prince, of whose oath of perpetual amity with Elizabeth it chiefly treats, was secretly planning the horrors of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, which were perpetrated within very few weeks after the date of his solemn perjury, and of Lincoln's dispatch.

" Aftar my most harty comẽdacyons unto your good Lordship, albeit you shall by the lettars from my LL. of the Cownsell understand the good newis y^{t} ar com toching the peace betwen the Quene's Ma^{te} and the French toching the mattars of

Skotland, yet I take occasyon to trowble your L. w^th^ this my lettar y^t^ it may apeare I am not slothfull in wryting to yow. This peace is gretely to the Quene's honour, and this reame. My Lord of Norfolk is gon to Lyth, to see the demolyshing of the same. The newis doth styll contynew of the comyng of the yong King of Swevya, who bringeth xxx shyps of war, and lx others to carre his trayne and vytells. Yesterday the Kyng of Spayne's Ambassadors were here, who reseyved knolayg of her Hynes of the peace concludyd in Skotland. The tewmolts in France do contynew. Monsur de Glassyon told me yesterday y^t^ the Duke of Savoy was in gret danger, besyde his owne towne off Nyece, to a byn taken by the Torks, bot skaped naroly, his horse being sore hort under hym. xii of his prynsepall noble men and gentylmen are by the Torks takyn and carreid away. The Kyng of Spayne's los at Geriby is confermyd by other lettars. I have lernyd for sarten y^t^ the French preparasyons are small to the see. It is brewtyd here y^t^ the Dewk de Namors doth com w^th^ a gret company of Noble men to vyzet the Quene's Ma^te^ from the French Kyng. Many lettars ar going owt from the Quene to the nobylyty of this reame to com to the Corte agen the coming of this yong Kyng of Swevya. I trust we shall be in quyat w^th^ France untyll they have ther owne cowntrey in a good ordar and subjectyon, but, when tyme shall sarve them, ther wylbe no gret trost to them, as I juge this peace hath ben parfors, for they were dryven to take it in thys sort, or els have lost all ther pypyll in Lyth, being not able to socor them. My Lord of Penbrok doth somwat amend of his syknes, God be thankyd, and is gon yesterday from the Corte to London, and so to Hynden. When othar mattars shall com worthe wrytyng I wyll advertes your L. From the Corte, the xiiith of July, 1560.

Your L'. assured to com̃and,

E. Clynton."

"My Loud,

I have advartized your L. from tyme to tyme of my enterteynment synce my comynge from Bullyn, whiche, albeit

ther was no ordar taken for provisions of the Kyng's chargis for me on the waye hyther, yet I assure you I was vearie honorablie used and enterteyned, as I have afore wrytten; and as I p̄ceive, they here weare utterlie withowt knowledge that there was suche ordar taken by the Quene's Ma^tie for the receyvinge of Monsieur Momerancie in England, whereof there hathe ben great mislykinge taken against suche as showld have gyven knowledge hyther. But synce my comyng to Parris ther hathe ben as greate enterteynement and honor done me, in respecte of her Majestie, as I ever have seene, and all at the Kyng's chargis.

On Fridaye last I was sent for to come to Madryll to the Kyng. The Prince Dolphyn, w^th many noble men, wher'of the Marshall Cossie, being one, dyd accompany me to the Court, wheare at my comyng the Kyng dyd welcom me vearie honorablie, his brethren, and a great assemblie of noble men being wyth hym. That daie the Kyng cawsed me, and the Quene's Ma^t's Imbassadors, to dyne w^th him and his brethren. We weare aftar dynar browght to the Quene, his wyfe, by the Duke Dalanson, at whiche tyme the Quene mother was sicke, and so deferred our comynge to her for that daye. We weare lodged in the Kynge's howse theare, and hadd greate enterteynement, wheare we remained Frydaie and Satterdaie, in which tyme the Kynge used suche familier enterteynemente as he tooke me wythe hym after his supper to walke in his parke, and he played at the Tennys, in the fyldes at Randon, with the noble men, and caried me late to his pryvie chamber, and did talke with me vearie pryvatlye. He had som pastyme showed hym by Italian players, whiche I was at w^th hym. On Satterdaie he towlde me his mother was not vearie well, but som thinge amended, and yet he wolde have me see her, and so hymself browght me to her, and her Majestie's Imbassadors, she being in her bedd, wheare I dyd her Ma^t's comendacions, and delyvered her Ma^t's letters. The next daye, beinge Sondaie, appoynted for the oathe to be taken at a parishe churche in Parris, the Kynge, wythe his twoo brethren, entred in a coache, and tooke me in the said coache w^th theym, and so passed throwghe a great part of

Parris to the Lovar, wher he dyned, and greate and sumptuous preparacion for hym, and a greate assemblie of noble men and gentlemen; and theare I, wythe her Ma$^{t's}$ Imbassadoures, dyned wythe the Kynge and his brethren.

Aftar dynar, at Evensonge tyme, the Kynge went to the aforesaid churche, and I have not seene a greater assemblie of people of all sortes, so that it was longe er the Kynge cowlde passe the prease, for all that his offycers cowlde commaunde to make place. At his comynge to the said churche, w^{ch} was rytchlie furnished, and hanged wythe arras, and a place in the quyer dressed for the Kynge and the noble men, aftar we hadd browght hym to the quyer, and that he was sett, we retyred o^{r}selves to a chappell on the syde of the said churche appoynted for us, where we remayned, accompanied wythe the Duke of Bolleyn, and Monsieur de Lansack, and others, untyll the Kynge had hard his evensong, and then we weare sent for by the Prynce Dolphyn to the Kynge, and theare, at the highe aulter, he tooke his oathe; and afore he dyd sweare he towld me openlie that ther was nothing that ever contented hym better than this league betwene the Quene, his good systar, and hym, being so noble and worthie a Pryncys as she ys; and, as he dyd publykelye take the oathe, accordyng to the ordar in suche cases, so dyd he p̄nounce that he dyd yt from his harte, as the thynge that he wolde trewlye and justlye obsarve and keepe durynge his lyfe, wythe suche a showe of a contentacyon as I have not seene the lyke. I noted his speache to me before dyner, spoken afore his brethren, and the greatest part of the Prynces and noble men theare, w^{ch} was that the ordar and custome hathe ben alwaies in Fraunce that when anie Kynge or Quene dyed, or other greate estate of their Howse, as nowe the Quene of Navare, they dyd mourne in theyr apparell, and dyd weare y^{t} for one monthe at the leaste; but he, haveing recyved suche cawse to rejoyce at this amitie, whearto he wold swear that daye, and for the greate honor he dyd beare to the Quene's Ma^{tie}, his good systar, he wolde weare his apparell accordynge to the contentmente of his mynde, and therfore he

dyd put off all mourning, and indede he and his brethren weare rytchelie apparelled.

The Kynge apon Sondaie last towlde me that bothe his brethren, for the greate honor they beare to her Ma^tie^ dyd desier to have me, and bothe her Ma^t's^ Imbassadoures, and the noble men and gentlemen in my companye, to dyne w^th^ them uppon Tewsdaie and Wensdaie next followynge: so that uppon Tewsdaie we dyned wyth Monsieur, who sent for us twoo of the brethren of Monsieur de Momeransie, and Lansack, and Larchaunt, and dyvars others. And at owre comynge, the Duke and his brother dyd mete us wythout his greate chamber, accompenied wythe the Duke Monpansier, and his son Prynce Dolphyn, and the Duks de Nevers and Bullyen, and Domall, and Gnyse, and the Marshall de Cossie, and Danvyle, who all dyned w^th^ hym. At after dynar Mons^r^ and his brother browght us to a chambre wheare was vearie many sorts of exelent musicke; and after that he hadd us to another large chambre, wheare there was an Italian playe, and dyvars vautars and leapers of dyvars sortes, vearie exelent; and thus that daie was spent. I doo heare that the Duke Dalanson doothe this daie make greate preparacion to feast us, wherof I wyll advartize you by my next lettars. And thus I take my leave of yo^r^ good L. wyshinge yo^r^ L. long lief, in much honor.

From the Lovar in Parris, this Wensdaie, in the morrnyng, beyng the xviiith of June, 1572.

Yo^r^ L.' assured friend to com̄aund,

E. Lyncoln."

"Her hathe ben hetherto no worde spokyn to me, ether by the Kynge or his mother, toochynge the Quene of Skotts, or the Duke Dalanson, Seurly, my Lord, here is shoid gret contentasyon of this amyté."

The Earl of Lincoln died on the nineteenth of January, 1584, O.S., and lies buried in St. George's Chapel, in Windsor Castle, under a superb monument of alabaster and porphyry, which was

some years since repaired, with laudable care and nicety, by the direction of his noble descendant, the late Duke of Newcastle. He was thrice married: first, to Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Blount, and widow to Gilbert, Lord Talboys. By this lady, who had formerly admitted the caresses of Henry the Eighth, he had three daughters; Bridget, married to Robert Dymock, of Scrivelsby, in Lincolnshire; Catherine, to William, Lord Borough; and Margaret, to Charles, Lord Willoughby of Parham. By his second wife, Ursula, daughter of Edward, Lord Stourton, he had three sons; Henry his successor; Edward; and Thomas; and two daughters; Anne, wife of William Ayscough, of Kelsey, in Lincolnshire; and Frances, of Giles Bruges, Lord Chandos. He married, thirdly, Elizabeth, daughter of Gerald Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare, who died without issue.

Engraved by H. Robinson.

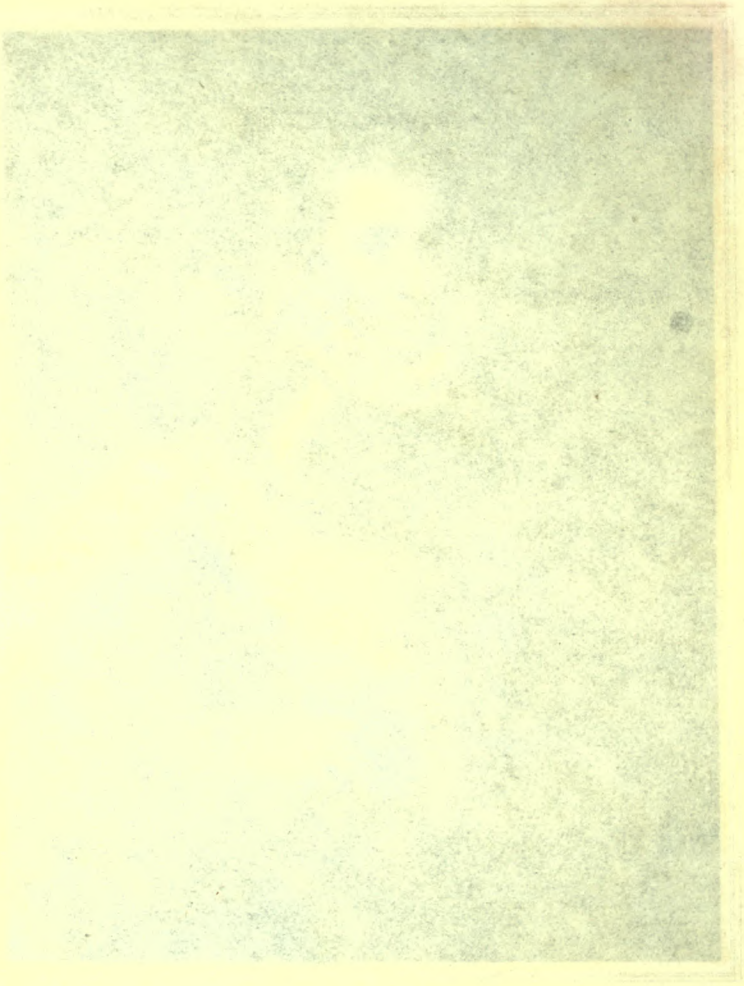
SIR PHILIP SIDNEY.

OB. 1586.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF SIR ANT? MORE, IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

London Published May 1, 1832, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.



SIR PHILIP SIDNEY.

Biography, like painting, derives a main interest from the contrast of strong lights and shadows. The glowing serenity of Italian skies, and the constant verdure of our own plains, delight us in nature, but on the canvass we look for tempestuous clouds, and rocky precipices, to break the uniformity of milder beauties; and, however necessary it may be that the judgment should be assured of the truth of the representation, yet, at all events, the fancy must be gratified. So it is with the reality and the picture of human life. The virtues which adorned the living man are faint ornaments on his posthumous story, without the usual opposition of instances of infirmity and extravagance. Whether it be an envy of perfection, a hasty prejudice which may have induced us to suppose that it cannot exist in the human character, or a just experience of its extreme rarity, that renders the portrait displeasing, unnatural, or at best insipid; or whether, under the influence of the secret principle of selfishness, virtue, in losing its power of conferring benefits, may not seem to have lost most of its beauty, are questions not to be solved; the fact, however, is incontrovertible.

Under the pressure of these reflections, and of others nearly as discouraging, I sit down to write some account of the life of Sir

Philip Sidney, whose character displays almost unvaried excellence ; whose splendour of talents, and purity of mind, were, if possible, exceeded by the simplicity and the kindness of his heart ; whose short, but matchless, career was closed by a death in which the highest military glory was even more than rivalled, not by those degrees of consolation usually derived from religion and patience, but by the piety of a saint, and the constancy of a stoic : a life too which has so frequently been the theme of the biographer ; of which all public facts are probably already recorded, and on which all terms of panegyric seem to have been exhausted.

Sir Philip Sidney was born on the twenty-ninth of November, 1554. His family was of high antiquity, Sir William Sidney, his lineal ancestor, a native of Anjou, having accompanied Henry the Second from thence, and afterwards waited on that Prince as one of his Chamberlains. From this courtly origin the Sidneys retired suddenly into privacy, and settled themselves in Surrey and Sussex, where they remained for nearly four hundred years in the character of country gentlemen, till Nicholas Sidney, who was twelfth in descent from Sir William, married Anne, daughter of Sir William Brandon, and aunt and co-heir to Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, a match which gave him a sort of family connection to Henry the Eighth, and probably drew him to the court. William, his only son, became successively an esquire of the body, a chamberlain, steward, and gentleman of the privy chamber, to that Prince, whom he afterwards repeatedly served with distinguished credit both in his fleets and armies, and from whom he received the honour of knighthood. To this Sir William, who is thus especially spoken of, because he may be esteemed the principal founder of the subsequent splendour of his family, Henry granted, in 1547, several manors and lands which had lately fallen to the crown by the attainder of Sir Ralph Vane, particularly the honour and park of Penshurst in Kent. He too left an only son, Sir Henry Sidney, the dear friend of King Edward the Sixth, who died in his arms, one of Elizabeth's well-chosen knights of the garter, the celebrated governor of Ireland, and President of Wales ; a wise

statesman, a true patriot, and a most honourable and beneficent gentleman. Of his three sons, by Mary, eldest daughter of the great and miserable John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, the first was our Sir Philip Sidney.

With such zeal has every scattered fragment relative to this admirable person been preserved, that the circumstances of his very infancy would form a collection more extensive than the whole history of many a long and eminent life. "Of his youth," says Sir Fulke Greville, one of his school-fellows, and his first biographer, "I will report no other than this; that though I lived with him, and knew him from a child, yet I never knew him other than a man; with such a steadiness of mind, lovely and familiar gravity, as carried grace and reverence above greater years; his talk ever of knowledge, and his very play tending to enrich his mind, so as even his teachers found something in him to observe and learn, above that which they had usually read or taught." In order that he might be near his family, which resided at Ludlow Castle during Sir Henry's Presidency of Wales, he was placed at a school in the town of Shrewsbury, and seems to have been at no other; yet we find him, at the age of twelve years, writing to his father, not only in Latin, but in French, and doubtless with correctness at least, since no censure is uttered on his epistles by his father, from whom we have the fact. It is communicated in a letter to him from Sir Henry, so excellent in every point of consideration, and more particularly as it should seem to have been the very mould in which the son's future character was cast, that I cannot help regretting that its great length, not to mention that it has lately been published by Dr. Zouch, should render it unfit to form a part of the present sketch.

He was removed to Christchurch in the University of Oxford in 1569, and placed under the care of Dr. Thomas Thornton, (who became through his means a Canon of that house), assisted by Robert Dorsett, afterwards Dean of Chester. Dr. Thornton was the gratuitous preceptor of Camden, and introduced him to Sidney, who became afterwards one of his most earnest patrons: and that

faithful historian, who so well and so early knew him, has told us that "he was born into the world to shew unto his age a sample of ancient virtues." Sidney studied also for some time at Cambridge, and there confirmed that fast friendship with Greville which had commenced at their school, and which the latter, with a warmth which the lapse of more than forty surviving years had not impaired, so emphatically commemorates on his own tomb, in the collegiate church of Warwick, by this inscription—"Fulke Greville, servant to Queen Elizabeth, counsellor to King James, and friend to Sir Philip Sidney."

He concluded his academical studies at seventeen years of age, and on the twenty-sixth of May, 1572, departed for France with Edward Clinton, Earl of Lincoln, and Admiral, then appointed by Elizabeth her ambassador extraordinary. His uncle Leicester, who probably cared little for talents in which cunning had no place, gave him on that occasion a letter to Sir Francis Walsingham, then resident minister at Paris, in which he says "he is young and rawe, and no doubt shall find those countries, and the demeanours of the people, somewhat straunge to him, in which respect your good advice and counsell shall greatlie behove him," &c. He was received with great distinction. Charles the Ninth appointed him a gentleman of his bedchamber, and he became familiarly known to Henry, King of Navarre, and is said to have been highly esteemed by that great and amiable Prince. Charles's favour to him, it is true, had been considered but as a feature of the plan of that evil hour to lull the protestants into a false security during the preparations for the diabolical massacre of St. Bartholomew, which burst forth on the twenty-second of August, within a fortnight after he had been admitted into his office. Sidney, on that dreadful occasion, sheltered himself in the house of Walsingham, and quitted Paris as soon as the storm had subsided.

After a circuitous journey through Lorrain, by Strasburgh, and Heidelburgh, he rested for a time at Frankfort, where he became acquainted with the celebrated Hubert Languet, then resident

minister there for the Elector of Saxony; a man who to the profoundest erudition joined the most intimate knowledge of the history, the laws, the political systems, and the manners of modern Europe; and whose eminent qualifications received their last polish from an upright heart, and a benign temper. At an age when men usually retire to the society of the friends of their youth, and the flatterers of their opinions, this sage selected the youthful Sidney, not only as his pupil, but as the companion of his leisure, and the depository of his confidence. "That day on which I first beheld him with my eyes," says Languet, "shone propitious to me." They passed together most part of the three years which Sidney devoted to his travels, and, when absent from each other, corresponded incessantly by letters. Languet's epistles have been more than once published, and amply prove the truth of these remarks; nor are Sidney's testimonials of gratitude and affection to him unrecorded.

Having halted long at Vienna, he travelled through Hungary, and passed into Italy, where he resided chiefly at Venice and Padua, and, without visiting Rome, which, it is said, no doubt truly, that he afterwards much regretted, he returned to England about May, 1575, and immediately after, then little more than twenty-one years of age, was appointed ambassador to the Emperor Rodolph. The professed object of the mission was mere condolence on the death of that Prince's father; but Sidney had secret instructions to negociate a union of the protestant states against the Pope and Philip of Spain; and the subsequent success of the measure has been ascribed to his arguments and address. While transacting these affairs he became acquainted with William, the first Prince of Orange, and with Don John of Austria; and those heroes, perhaps in every other instance uniformly opposed to each other, united, not only in their tribute of applause, but in an actual friendship with him. William, in particular, held a constant correspondence with him on the public affairs of Europe, and designated him as "one of the ripest and greatest counsellors of state of that day in Europe."

Sidney returned from his embassy in 1577, and passed the eight succeeding years undistinguished by any public appointment. His spirit was too high for the court, and his integrity too stubborn for the cabinet. Elizabeth, who always expected implicit submission, could not long have endured such a servant; yet he occasionally advised her with the utmost freedom, and she received his counsel with gentleness. Of this we have a remarkable instance in his letter to her, written at great length, in 1579, against the proposed match with the Duke of Alençon, after of Anjou, which may be found in the Cabala, and in Collins's Sidney Papers, and which Hume has pronounced to be written "with an unusual elegance of expression, as well as force of reasoning." Sir Fulke Greville calls him "an exact image of quiet and action, happily united in him, and seldom well divided in others;" activity, however, was the ruling feature in the mechanism of his nature, while the keenest sensibility reigned in his heart. Perhaps, too, if we may venture to suppose that Sidney had a fault, those mixed dispositions produced in him their usual effect, an impatience and petulance of temper which the general grandeur of his mind was calculated rather to aggravate than to soften. Hence in this his time of leisure, he fell into some excesses, which in an ordinary person, so much is human judgment swayed by the character of its subject, might perhaps rather have challenged credit than censure. Such were his quarrels with the Earls of Ormond and Oxford, the one too worthy, the other too contemptible, to be the object of such a man's resentment. Ormond had been suspected by Sidney of having endeavoured to prejudice the Queen against his father, and had therefore been purposely affronted by him; but the Earl nobly said (as appears by a letter in Collins's Papers to Sir Henry Sidney), "that he would accept no quarrel from a gentleman who was bound by nature to defend his father's cause, and who was otherwise furnished with so many virtues as he knew Mr. Philip to be." We are not told, however, that Sidney was satisfied. Oxford was a brute and a madman; insulted him at a tennis-court, without a cause, and with the utmost vulgarity of manners and language:

yet, so angry was Sidney, that the privy council, finding their endeavours to prevent a duel would be ineffectual, were obliged to solicit Elizabeth to interpose her authority. Her argument on this occasion, for with him she condescended to argue, is too curious to be omitted. "She laid before him," says Sir Fulke Greville, "the difference in degree between earls and gentlemen; the respect inferiors owed to their superiors; and the necessity in princes to maintain their own creations, as degrees descending between the people's licentiousness and the anointed sovereignty of crowns; and how the gentleman's neglect of the nobility taught the peasant to insult both." Sidney combated this royal reasoning with freedom and firmness, but submitted. He retired, however, for many months, much disgusted, into the country; and, in that season of quiet, thus forced upon him, is supposed to have composed his Arcadia. These things happened in 1580; but the strongest and most blameable instance of his intemperance is to be found in a letter from him, on the 31st of May, 1578, to Mr. Edward Molineux, a gentleman of ancient family, and secretary to his father, whom he had hastily, and it seems unjustly, suspected of a breach of confidence. Let it speak for itself, and, saving us the pain of remarking further on it, allow us to take leave of the sole imperfection of Sidney's character.

"Mr. Molineux,

"Few woordes are best. My lettres to my father have come to the eys of some; neither can I condemne any but you for it. If it be so, yow have plaide the very knave with me, and so I will make yow know, if I have good proofe of it: but that for so muche as is past; for that is to come, I assure yow before God, that if ever I knowe you do so muche as reede any lettre I wryte to my father, without his commandement, or my consente, I will thruste my dagger into yow; and truste to it, for I speake it in earnest. In the mean tyme farewell.

"By me,

"Philippe Sidney."

About this time he represented the county of Kent in Parliament, where he frequently was actively engaged in the public business. He sat in 1581 on a most select committee for the devising new laws against the Pope and his adherents. In the same year the proposals for the French marriage were earnestly renewed; the Duke of Anjou visited Elizabeth; and, after three months' ineffectual suit, was through her wisdom or folly, finally, but pompously dismissed. Sidney was appointed one of the splendid train which attended him to Antwerp, and we find him, soon after his return, soliciting for employment. "The Queen," says he, in a letter to Lord Burghley, of the twenty-seventh of January, 1582, "at my L. of Warwick's request, hathe bene moved to join me in his office of ordinance; and, as I learn, her Majestie yields gratious heering unto it. My suit is your L. will favour and furdre it, which I truly affirme unto your L. I much more desyre for the being busied in a thing of som serviceable experience than for any other comoditie, which is but small that can arise from it." His request was unsuccessful, and it was perhaps owing to this disappointment that he devoted the whole of the next year to literary leisure, one result of which is said to have been his "Defence of Poesy." In 1583 he married Frances, the only surviving daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham, by whom, two years afterwards, he had an only child, Elizabeth, who became the wife of Roger Manners, Earl of Rutland; and on the thirteenth of January in that year was knighted at Windsor, as a qualification for his serving as proxy for John, Prince Palatine of the Rhine, at an installation of the order of the Garter.

It is strange that almost immediately after his disinterested marriage to a young woman of exquisite beauty and accomplishments, he should have laid a plan to accompany Drake, in his second voyage, all the great objects of which it was agreed should be committed to his management. The whole had been devised and matured with the utmost secrecy, and it should seem that he was actually on board when a peremptory mandate arrived from the Queen to stay him. A speculation, the extravagance of which

was perhaps equal to its honour, awaited his return. He was invited to enrol himself among the candidates for the crown of Poland, vacant in 1585 by the death of Stephen Bathori; and this historical fact affords a stronger general proof of the fame of his transcendant character than all the united testimonies even of his contemporaries. That a young man, sprung from a family not yet ennobled; unemployed, save in a solitary embassy, by his own sovereign; passing perhaps the most part of his time in literary seclusion; should have been solicited even to be certainly unsuccessful in so glorious a race, would be utterly incredible, were it not absolutely proved. Here Elizabeth's prohibition again interfered: "She refused," says Naunton, "to further his advancement, not only out of emulation, but out of fear to lose the jewel of her times." She became, however, now convinced that this mighty spirit must have a larger scope for action. Sidney was sworn of the Privy Council, and, on the seventh of November in the same year appointed Governor of Flushing, one of the most important of the towns then pledged to Elizabeth for the payment and support of her auxiliary troops, and General of the Horse, under his uncle Leicester, who was Commander-in-Chief of the English forces in the Low Countries. On the eighteenth of that month he arrived at Flushing, and, as it were by an act of mere volition, instantly assumed, together with his command, all the qualifications which it required. His original letters, preserved in our great national repository, abundantly prove that he was the ablest general in the field, and the wisest military counsellor in that service: of his bravery it is unnecessary to speak. I insert one of them addressed to Sir Francis Walsingham, and hitherto unpublished; not with the particular view of making that proof, but to give perhaps the strongest possible instance of the wonderful variety, as well as of the power of his rich mind: to exhibit the same Sidney whose pen had so lately been dedicated to the soft and sweet relaxation of poesy and pastoral romance, now writing from his tent, amid the din of war, with the stern simplicity, and shortbreathed impatience, of an old soldier. The letter, indeed,

is in many other respects of singular curiosity. The view which it imperfectly gives us of his earnest zeal for the protestant cause, of Elizabeth's feelings towards him, and of the wretched provision made at home for the campaign, are all highly interesting.

"RIGHT HONORABLE,

"I receave dyvers letters from you, full of the discomfort which I see, and am sorry to see, y^t^ yow daily meet with at home; and I think, such is y^e^ goodwil it pleaseth you to bear me, y^t^ my part of y^e^ trouble is something y^t^ troubles yow; but I beseech yow let it not. I had before cast my count of danger, want, and disgrace: and, before God, Sir, it is trew in my hart, the love of y^e^ caws doth so far over ballance them all, y^t^, with God's grace, thei shall never make me weery of my resolution. If her Ma^ti^ wear the fountain, I wold fear, considering what I daily fynd, y^t^ we should wax dry; but she is but a means whom God useth, and I know not whether I am deceaved, but I am faithfully persuaded, y^t^ if she shold w^th^draw herself, other springes wold ryse to help this action: for methinkes I see y^e^ great work indeed in hand against the abusers of the world, wherein it is no greater fault to have confidence in man's power, then it is too hastily to despair of God's work. I think a wyse and constant man ought never to greeve whyle he doth plaie, as a man may sai, his own part truly, though others be out; but if himself leav his hold becaws other marriners will be ydle, he will hardly forgive himself his own fault. For me, I can not promis of my own couree, no, not of the . . . becaws I know there is a eyer power y^t^ must uphold me, or else I shall fall; but certainly I trust I shall not by other men's wantes be drawne from myself; therefore, good Sir, to whome for my particular I am more bownd then to all men besydes, be not troubled with my troubles, for I have seen the worst, in my judgement, beforehand, and wors then y^t^ can not bee.

"If the Queene pai not her souldiours she must loos her garrisons; ther is no dout thereof; but no man living shall be hable to sai the fault is in me. What releefe I can do them I will. I

will spare no danger, if occasion serves. I am sure no creature shall be hable to lay injustice to my charge; and, for furdre doutes, truly I stand not uppon them. I have written by Adams to the counell plainli, and thereof lett them determin. It hath been a costly beginning unto me this war, by reason I had nothing proportioned unto it; my servantes unexperienced, and myself every way unfurnished; but hereafter, if the war continew, I shall pas much better thorow with it. For Bergem up Zome, I delighted in it, I confess, becaws it was neer the enemy; but especially, having a very fair hows in it, and an excellent air, I destenied it for my wyfe; but, fynding how yow deal there, and y^{t} ill paiment in my absence thens might bring foorth som mischeef, and considering how apt the Queen is to interpret every thing to my disadvantage, I have resigned it to my Lord Willowghby, my very frend, and indeed a vaillant and frank gentleman, and fit for y^{t} place; therefore I pray yow know that so much of my regality is faln.

"I understand I am called very ambitious and prowd at home, but certainly if thei know my hart thei woold not altogether so judg me. I wrote to yow a letter by Will, my Lord of Lester's jesting plaier, enclosed in a letter to my wyfe, and I never had answer thereof. It contained something to my Lord of Lester, and counell y^{t} som wai might be taken to stai my lady there. I, since, dyvers tymes have writt to know whether you had receaved them, but yow never answered me y^{t} point. I since find y^{t} the knave deliver'd the letters to my Lady of Lester, but whether she sent them yow or no I know not, but earnestly desyre to do, becaws I dout there is more interpreted thereof. Mr. Erington is with me at Flushing, and therefore I think myself at the more rest, having a man of his reputation; but I assure yow, Sir, in good earnest, I fynd Burlas another manner of a man than he is taken for, or I expected. I would to God, Burne had obtained his suit. He is ernest, but somewhat discomposed with consideration of his estate. Turner is good for nothing, and worst for y^{e} sownd of y^{e} hackbutes. We shall have a sore warr uppon us this sommer, wherein if appointment had been kept, and these disgraces forborn, w^{ch} have

greatly weakened us, we had been victorious. I can sai no more at this tyme, but prai for your long and happy lyfe. At Utrecht, this 24th of March, 1586.

"Your humble son,

"PH. SIDNEY.

"I know not what to sai to my wyve's coming till you resolve better; for if yow run a strange cource, I may take such a one heere as will not be fitt for anye of the feminin gender. I prai yow make much of Nichol Gery. I have been vyldlie deceaved for armures or horsemen; if yow cold speedily spare me any out of your armury, I will send them yow back as soon as my own be finished. There was never so good a father find a more troublesom son. Send Sir William Pelham, good Sir, and let him have Clerke's place, for we need no clerkes, and it is most necessary to have such a one in the counsell."

On the fifth of May, following the date of this letter, he lost his father, and on the ninth of August, his mother. Providence thus mercifully spared them the dreadful trial which was fast approaching. Sir Philip having highly distinguished himself in many actions of various fortune, commanding on the twenty-fourth of September a detachment of the army, met accidentally a convoy of the enemy, on its way to Zutphen, a strong town of Guelderland, which they were then besieging. He attacked it with a very inferior force, and an engagement of uncommon fury ensued, in which having had one horse shot under him, and being remounted, he received a musket shot a little above the left knee, which shattered the bone, and passed upwards towards the body. As they were bearing him from the field of battle towards the camp (for the anecdote, though already so often told, cannot be too often repeated,) he became faint and thirsty from excess of bleeding, and asked for water, which he was about to drink, when observing the eye of a dying soldier fixed on the glass, he resigned it to him, saying "Thy necessity is yet greater than mine." He was carried to Arnheim, and variously tortured by a multitude of surgeons and

physicians for three weeks. Amputation, or the extraction of the ball, would have saved his inestimable life, but they were unwilling to practise the one, and knew not how to perform the other. In the short intervals which he spared during his confinement from severe exercises of piety he wrote verses on his wound, and made his will at uncommon length, and with the most scrupulous attention. Of that instrument, which is inserted, with some mistakes, in Collins's Sidney Papers, Sir Fulke Greville most justly says, "This will of his, will ever remain for a witness to the world that those sweet and large, even dying, affections in him, could no more be contracted with the narrowness of pain, grief, or sickness, than any sparkle of our immortality can be privately buried in the shadow of death." It is dated the last day of September, 1586, and on the seventeenth of October he added a codicil, with many tokens of regard to intimate friends. A small but interesting fact disclosed by that codicil, has hitherto escaped the notice of his biographers. It ends with these words; "I give to my good friends, Sir George Digby and Sir Henry Goodier, each a ring of . . . ." His dictation was interrupted by death.

Thus ended a life, doubtless of great designs, but of few incidents. The jealousy and timidity of Elizabeth denied to Sir Philip Sidney any share in her state confidence; excluded him from a cabinet which he would have enlightened by his counsels, and purified by the example of his honour and integrity; and devoted him to an honourable banishment, and a premature death. Such a man should have had such a master as Henry the Fourth of France, and a concord of all that was wise, and virtuous, and amiable, might have gone far towards gaining the empire of Europe, by winning the hearts of its people. But he was consigned to almost private life, and a strict observer of his mind and heart would have been his best biographer. Most of the inestimable story which such a one might have preserved for our delight and our instruction is lost for ever. Sir Fulke Greville, who however entirely loved him, wanted the talent, or the feeling, or both, which might have excited and enabled him to record innumerable effusions of

goodness, and wisdom, and genius, imbibed by himself, even at the fountain head: but his book, which has been the chief groundwork for subsequent writers, contains little but meagre facts and vapid eulogium. Those who would study then with precision the detail of Sidney's character must seek it in his writings, and I regret that the proposed limits of the present publication are too confined to allow of disquisition to that effect. I shall conclude, however, by enumerating them, adding a very few remarks.

We do not find that any of his works were published while he lived. The Arcadia, which has been translated into most of the living tongues, and so frequently reprinted, first appeared in 1591; as did "Astrophel and Stella," a long series of Sonnets and Songs, intended, as is said, to express his passion for the fair Lady Rich. "The Defence of Poesy," a critical rhapsody, full of classical intelligence and acute observation, was first printed in 1595; these only of his works were published singly. Other of his Sonnets, a poem called "A Remedy for Love," and "The Lady of May," a masque, have been subjoined to different editions of the Arcadia. In a volume published in 1600, and now lately reprinted, with the title of "England's Helicon, or a Collection of Songs," are many from his pen. His answer to that furious volume of vengeance against his uncle, well known by the title of "Leicester's Commonwealth," remained in manuscript so late as 1746, when Collins inserted it in his fine publication of the Sidney Papers. There are a few other pieces, both in verse and prose, which, having been perhaps falsely ascribed to him, I forbear to mention.

Notwithstanding all that we have heard of Sir Philip Sidney's early fondness for literature, I am inclined to think that, had he been placed in his proper sphere, we might never have known him as an author. The character of his talents, the form of his education, the habits of his early society, and his own earnest inclination, combined to qualify him for a statesman of the first order. Disappointed in his favourite views, his activity probably sought relief in literary exercise, and hence we find more of the mind than of the heart, more judgment than fancy, in the productions

of his pen. He fled to the muse, perhaps, rather for refuge than enjoyment, and courted her more in the spirit of a friend than of a lover; but the warmth of the attachment was sufficient to produce a flame which was always bright and pure, and which, if it did not dazzle, at least never failed to enlighten. His works in general may be characterised as the choicest fruits of universal study, and unbounded recollection, selected by a mind which while it possessed equal measures of the most powerful vigour, and the most refined delicacy, was ruled by the highest sentiments of religious, moral, and social duty. He was deficient in originality, but the splendour of his virtues and of his talents awed criticism to silence, or charmed it into unqualified approbation; till a writer, confessedly at the head of his own most agreeable class, stood boldly forward, not to start that objection, but to deny nearly all which the united suffrages of Europe had for two centuries implicitly agreed to grant. Lord Orford, in his sketch of the life of Sir Fulke Greville, calls Sir Philip Sidney "an astonishing object of temporary admiration;" discovers his Arcadia to be "a tedious, lamentable, pedantic, pastoral romance;" and insults the sublimity of his exit by ascribing it to "the rashness of a volunteer." But the noble writer delighted in biographical paradoxes, and perhaps in controverting received opinions and high authorities. It was natural enough for the champion of Richard the Third to turn his weapons against Sir Philip Sidney, as well as to endeavour to pull down the character of Lord Falkland, from the height on which it had been placed by the glowing pen of the immortal Clarendon. But a truce with such specks of criticism. Let them who are able and willing to judge for themselves, turn to the Defence of Poesy for the prodigious extent and variety of Sidney's studies, and for his judicious application of the results of them: let them contemplate even in the very first pages of the Arcadia, the readiness and playfulness of his wit, and in the whole, innumerable scattered proofs of his speculative and practical wisdom; let them compare his style, both in verse and prose, with those of contemporary authors; and they will turn, with a senti-

ment almost amounting to anger, from a solitary judgment founded in caprice, and uttered at least with indiscretion.

However imprudent it may be to place in the same view with my own observations a passage so finely conceived, and so exquisitely expressed, I cannot conclude, without citing in justification of some of the opinions which I have presumed here to give, the words of an admirable living critic. "Sidney," says he, in comparing his poetical talents with those of Lord Buckhurst, "displays more of the artifices, and less of the inspiration of Poetry. His command of language, and the variety of his ideas are conspicuous. His mind exhibits an astonishing fund of acquired wealth; but images themselves never seem to overcome him with all the power of actual presence. The ingenuity of his faculties supplies him with a lively substitute; but it is not vivid, like the reality."

Engraved by J. Thomson.

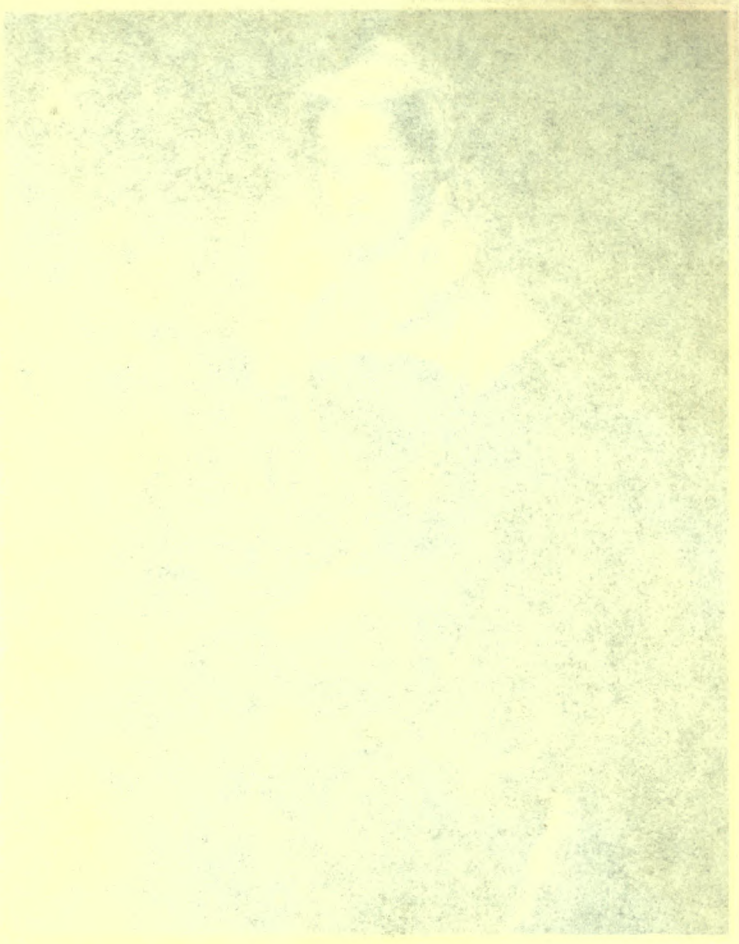
MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS.

OB. 1587.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF MORTON.

London, Published Feb^y 1, 1850, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.



MARY STUART,

QUEEN OF SCOTLAND.

The writer of these memoirs having formerly been the humble instrument of discovering and promulgating many very curious particulars of Mary's eventful story, it might perhaps be expected that he should be more inclined, and even better qualified, than many others, now to treat of it somewhat at large; neither of those motives, however, were he sensible of such, could tempt him to assume the task. All the stories of history and tradition, of public records and private collections, have been already ransacked; argument and reasonable conjecture have been exhausted; the fields even of imagination and fancy have been traversed in search of bright or hideous visions to enhance the charms of her person and her wit, and to aggravate the horror of her sufferings. Nay, while in the fear of saying too much I am thus apologising for saying so little, appears a complete "Life of Mary, Queen of Scots," from the ever employed and ever instructive pen of Mr. George Chalmers, who has once more journeyed over the whole of this interesting ground, and seems to have left no stone unturned which might by possibility have concealed any novel object of his research. The whole result is surely now before the public. It comprehends a tale which the heart has eagerly accepted from all the passions, and fixed irrevocably in the memory. To repeat it would be impertinent; to enlarge it, till new discoveries shall be made, is impossible.

The only object then of the few following lines is to give some account of the picture an engraving from which accompanies them. The numerous portraits hitherto ascribed to this Princess are as various and as dissimilar as the circumstances of her life, or the features of her character, agreeing only in the single fact of representing her as eminently beautiful. No strong internal presumption, no inveterate tradition, tends to distinguish the authenticity of any one of them: the several professed resemblances of her countenance have excited almost as much doubt and controversy as the disputed points of her history: and thus a genuine likeness of this celebrated lady may be reckoned among the first of the elegant and tasteful desiderata of the present age. How far the beautiful specimen of two arts which is before us may tend to decide the question must rest in great measure on the degree of credit that may be esteemed due to a report which has been regularly handed down in the family of the noble owner of the picture, and which must necessarily be here prefaced by the brief recital of a small portion of Mary's history.

In the year 1567, which is well known to have been distinguished, fatally for her reputation, by the murder of her husband, and her marriage to the infamous Bothwell, the most powerful among the nobility of Scotland associated for the declared purposes of separating her from that wretch, and protecting the person of the young Prince, her son. With the usual fate of such combinations, they went much further: they made their Queen a captive; led her triumphantly through the army with which they had strengthened themselves; and, having imprisoned her closely in the Castle of Lochleven, deposed her, and crowned her son. The owner of the castle was a Douglas, nearly related to the celebrated Earl of Morton, the most considerable person of the confederates, and who had been commissioned by them to accept her surrender. Here she remained nearly twelve months. At length, after the failure of various plans to liberate her, formed by those who still remained true to her interest, she accomplished it herself, by gaining over George Douglas, brother of her keeper.

On this young man, under the age of twenty, and already a slave to that beauty the magic of which no one could wholly resist, she employed all the graces of mind and manners with which nature and art had so abundantly furnished her, and to leave no passion of his heart unassailed which might be rendered subservient to her view, is said to have tempted his ambition by giving him hopes that he might obtain her hand. When she had completed her charm, she besought him to aid her escape. He instantly complied, for who could have hesitated? and, by means which, however curious and interesting, it is not to the present purpose to recapitulate, restored her to freedom.

The picture which has furnished the plate before us has been preserved with the greatest care, from time immemorial, in the mansion of Dalmahoy, the principal seat in Scotland of the Earl of Morton; on the upper part of it is inscribed, with a modesty of assertion which tends to favour the report of its originality, "Mary, Queen of Scots, said to have been painted during her confinement in Lochleven Castle;" and the noble Earl who at present possesses it, has enhanced the value of his permission to place an engraving from it among the chief ornaments of this work, by condescending to state that, according to an invariable tradition in his Lordship's family, it was once the property of George Douglas, the liberator of Mary, and that it passed from him, together with other curious relics of that unhappy Princess, to his eminent relation, James, fourth Earl of Morton, who has been mentioned above, in whose posterity it has remained to the present day.

From the same picture also professes to have been engraved a plate which supplies the frontispiece to the first volume of Mr. Chalmers's new work, and its striking dissimilitude to the portrait here presented renders some reluctant remarks on it highly necessary in this place. It is scarcely too much to say that neither the features, nor the general character of countenance, given in the two engravings, bear even the slightest resemblance to each other; and this variance between two copies taken from the same original, which is allowed to possess stronger claims to authenticity than

any other painting, is the more distressing, as it was hoped that the engraving before us would have done much towards putting to rest the long disputed question as to Mary's features, and the skill and talents of the painter who copied the original, together with the clear opinion of its correctness, after actual comparison with the painting, expressed by the noble Earl who possesses the picture, may be received as pledges for its exact fidelity. Having thus established the claim of the engraving here presented, to be considered as the genuine representation of Mary's portrait, the failure in that of Mr. Chalmers's alone remains to be accounted for.

That gentleman discloses to us in his preface a new and most extraordinary discovery by which he has been enabled, with the aid of an artist, of whom he expresses a high opinion, to produce, de novo, a correct portrait of Mary; and one of the most singular features of the invention is, that the distracting variety of those which have hitherto individually pretended to originality constitutes the very source which gives undoubted authenticity to his. Having spoken of those perplexities of which no one before had known how to take the advantage, Mr. Chalmers says, "In this state of uncertainty with regard to the person of the Scottish Queen, I employed a very ingenious artist to paint that celebrated Queen from such sketches, pictures, and other materials, as might be laid before his intelligent eyes: at the same time I presumed to think that her features might be settled by ascertaining the facts relating to her person like other matters of history." In other words, that the artist was to copy from one picture a pair of eyes, justified by the authority of Melvil; a nose from another, corroborated by the report of Keith; from a coin, a smile which had been cursed by Knox; and from a figure on a tomb, a frown which Buchanan had recorded to have been levelled at him; and the like; and from the combination of these pictorial and historical tesseræ Mr. Chalmers's hopes were at length fulfilled by the acquisition of a portrait which, to use his own words, "has been very generally admired for its truth and its elegance." From this picture was engraved the plate which is prefixed to the second volume of his work.

Now, to speak seriously, Mr. Chalmers, whose kindness and candour I know too well to expect his displeasure at these remarks, has left, fortunately for us, to the idle and the careless those lighter studies which employ the mind without fatigue, and gratify the fancy without informing the understanding. A votary to history, his affection for it has led him to give too large a credit to its descriptive powers, while a negligence of the more delicate and less important theory of the human face divine has left him at liberty to suppose the impossibility, that a mere junction of features, however correctly each may have been individually represented and copied, should produce what we commonly call a likeness. The artist who could propose or encourage such a suggestion merits not so mild a judgment.

To conclude, the fact seems to be that the picture which assumes to have been so whimsically composed (vol 2.) was ill copied from that which is stated to be a copy from the Douglas picture (vol. 1.), to which it has scarcely any resemblance (except in the dress, in which the artist condescendingly tells us in Mr. Chalmers's preface, he "did not chuse to make any fanciful alteration"), or vice versa: in short, that the artist judged it necessary to produce somehow an evident agreement between the two. It need only be added that the sole view of these observations is to record a caveat against any inference adverse to the authenticity of the portrait here presented, which might possibly be drawn from a careless comparison of it with either of the two engravings in Mr. Chalmers's history of Mary; and this is rendered the more necessary by an anticipation of the respect which will undoubtedly and justly be paid to that work. A jealousy of fair reputation, and a regard to weighty interests, equally excusable, have demanded this explanation.

Engraved by H.T.Ryall.

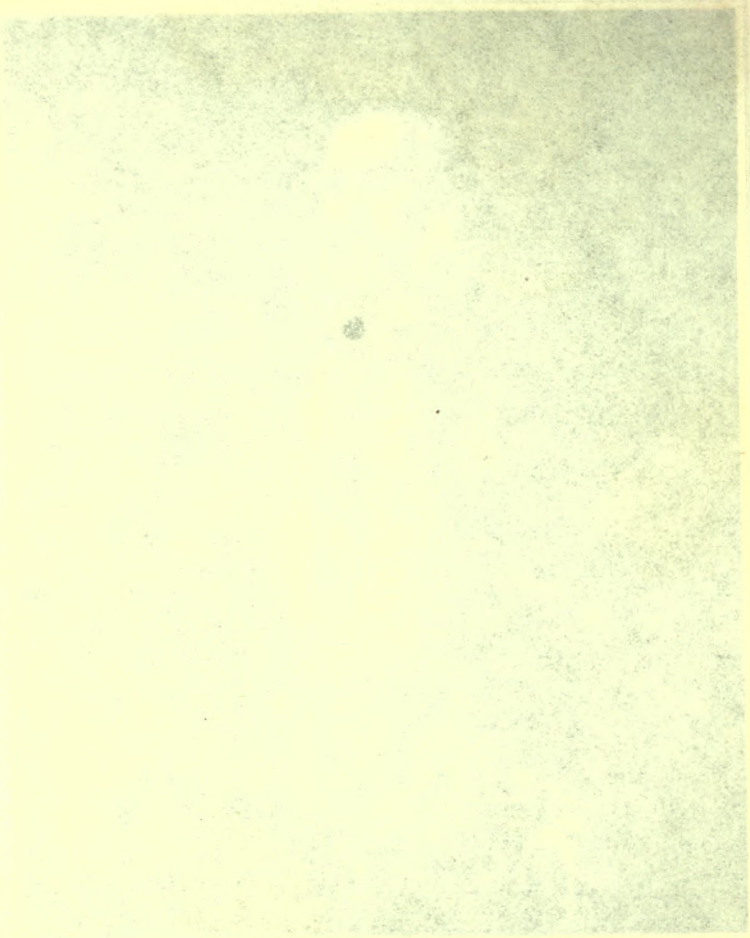
ROBERT DUDLEY, EARL OF LEICESTER.

OB. 1588.

FROM THE ORIGINAL, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE MOST NOBLE, THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY.

London, Published Dec. 1.1838, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.



ROBERT DUDLEY,

EARL OF LEICESTER.

This mighty Peer, whose history will ever remain a memorial of the injustice and the folly, as well as of the unbounded power, of his Sovereign, was the fifth son of the equally mighty, but less fortunate, John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, by Jane, daughter of Sir Henry Guldeford. The father's greatness shot forth with the rapidity and the splendour of a vast meteor, and was as suddenly lost in darkness: the son's, planet-like, rose somewhat more slowly, and traversed its hemisphere in a more regular obedience to the power, from which it derived its motion and its brilliancy. It obeyed however no other power, for Leicester offended against all laws, both divine and human. He seems not to have possessed a single virtue, nor was he highly distinguished by the qualities of his understanding; but the unlimited favour of Elizabeth, which for many years rendered him perhaps the most powerful subject in the world, invested him with a factitious importance, while, on his part, by a degree of hypocrisy so daring that it rather confounded than deceived the minds of men, he contrived to avoid open censure. Even flattery however seems to have been ashamed to raise her voice for him while he lived, and the calm and patient research of after times, with all its habitual respect for the memory of the illustrious dead, has busied itself in vain to find a single bright spot on his character.

He was born in or about the year 1532. His father, who surrounded the person of Edward the sixth with his offspring, procured for him in 1551 the post of one of the six Gentlemen of

the Bedchamber, and about the same time that of master of the King's buck-hounds. Edward, with the common readiness of youth, accepted him as a familiar companion, and evinced towards him a partiality bordering on favouritism. On the discomfiture of the feeble attempt to place his sister-in-law, Jane Grey, on the Throne, and the accession of Mary, he was imprisoned in the Tower, merely, as it should seem, because he was his father's son, for history furnishes us with no trace of his active participation in that design. He was indicted, however, of high treason, and prudently pleading guilty, received sentence of death, apparently as a matter of form, and, soon after, a pardon, and was liberated on the eighteenth of October, 1554. Mary indeed immediately took him in some measure into her favour; and we find in Strype's Memorials that after her marriage to Philip he attached himself particularly to that Prince, and was chosen "to carry messages between the King and Queen, riding post on such occasions, and neglecting nothing that might ingratiate himself with either of them." It was at the intercession of Philip, as all historians agree, that such of the prisoners for Jane's forlorn cause as escaped with life were set at liberty; nor is it less certain that the rigours of Elizabeth's captivity were softened through his influence. It may be very probably conjectured, though it has hitherto escaped the observation of historical speculatists, that Dudley was the secret instrument of correspondence between the King and that Princess, and that the dawn of her enormous subsequent favour towards him may be very reasonably ascribed to the impression made on her youthful heart, in a season of danger and misfortune, by a young man who possessed every natural and artificial qualification to win feminine affection.

She appointed him, immediately on her accession, to the distinguished office of Master of the Horse, and shortly after, on the fourth of June, 1559, he was installed a Knight of the Garter, and sworn of the Privy Council. These great preferments were presently followed by grants of estates to an immense value, among which we find his celebrated manor and castle of Kenil-

worth, in Warwickshire; nor was the Crown the sole source of his growing power and wealth, for numerous public bodies, particularly of the ecclesiastical order, in the hope of securing to their respective interests the vast influence which he evidently possessed over the mind of the Queen, elected him to their stewardships, and other municipal offices, which, not to mention the sums which he annually derived from them, extended his authority into almost every part of the realm. That such an extravagance of good fortune should have excited envy and competition might reasonably be expected, but few ever ventured to appear in open rivalry towards him. Thomas Radclyffe, Earl of Sussex, perhaps the most virtuous and high-spirited, and certainly one of the wisest, of Elizabeth's servants, openly opposed himself from public motives to the secret design which Dudley undoubtedly entertained of becoming her husband, and was joined by Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, who had with less reserve aspired to that proud distinction: the rest submitted with despair, or sullen patience, to a power which seemed impregnable by the attacks of faction or the machinations of intrigue; even Burghley, esteemed as he was for his sagacity and probity, condescended to profess for the favourite an esteem which he could not have felt. Elizabeth, as though for the express purpose of giving a colour to his arrogant view of partaking her bed, now proved to himself and to the world that she thought him worthy of a royal spouse, by proposing him in form as a husband to the young Queen of Scots, by whom she knew he would be rejected. Thus he stood in the Court of his mistress, when on the twenty-eighth of September, 1564, she raised him to the dignity of Baron of Denbigh, and on the following day to the Earldom of Leicester, and towards the end of that year the University of Oxford elected him their Chancellor. He accompanied Elizabeth soon after in a visit to that learned body, and was received with a respect and deference perhaps never before conceded to any of her subjects, and which in fact could not properly have been due to any one beneath the rank of her consort.

In the mean time however the Queen, by a treaty of marriage with the Archduke Charles of Austria, which bore every mark of sincerity, cast a lasting damp on his proud hopes. Leicester had so far presumed on her partiality as to oppose the negotiation, not only in argument with herself and her Council, but even publicly, and was rebuked by her with a severity which, while it convinced him of the vanity of his splendid pretensions, left him no room to doubt that self-love, and a resolution to preserve her independence, were the ruling features of her character. His disappointment was confined to the frustration of this single view, for in all other matters her favour and his influence remained unimpaired; and, now at leisure to pursue a more ordinary track of ambition, he sought, with the aid of a most profound dissimulation, to maintain the possession of them: nor was this cautuion unnecessary, for the repulse which he had lately experienced from the Queen had disclosed to him enemies perhaps before unsuspected, and encouraged his rivals to a more open show of competition. Among the latter was Thomas Howard, fourth Duke of Norfolk, a nobleman not only invested with the utmost importance that splendour of descent, immense wealth, and no very distant kindred to Elizabeth, could bestow, but one of the few of her subjects whom a party in her Court and Council had flattered with the hope of gaining her hand. Leicester determined on the ruin of a man thus in every way hateful to him; and, as it could be accomplished only by treachery, insinuated himself into the confidence of the Duke, who was distinguished by the generosity and simplicity of his character. Norfolk communicated to him the plan which he had formed for a marriage with the Queen of Scots, with all his weighty dependencies; was directed in every step towards it by his counsel, and when it approached to fruition was betrayed by him to Elizabeth; who indeed it may be reasonably suspected had employed him from the beginning for that purpose.

These detestable facts have been fully proved against him; but it is to the last degree difficult, not to say impossible, such were the depth of his artifices, and the dead secrecy of his instruments,

to obtain clear historical evidence of the most remarkable features of his conduct in public measures, and towards public servants. His agency was felt, but not seen; or if those who were bound by his spells sometimes obtained a glimpse of the enchanter, he was presently again shrouded in utter darkness. Much however has been proved, and more inferred from circumstances. Having overthrown the Duke of Norfolk, he conceived about the same time a bitter hatred against the Queen of Scots, and Burghley, who had been the intimate and confidential friend of that unfortunate nobleman. It was probably the offspring of fear, for there can be little doubt that each of them possessed damning proofs of his late treachery. The rigours of Mary's tedious captivity, the strange vacillations of Elizabeth's policy regarding her, and her tragical end, may be most reasonably ascribed to his influence over the worst passions of his infatuated mistress; yet he found means to impress on the mind of Mary a persuasion that he commiserated her sufferings, and she more than once appealed to his pity. His reiterated insinuations against Cecil were however always unsuccessful. Elizabeth regarded that great minister with feelings directly opposite to those of fear and anger, and all her selfishness was awakened to protect him. Leicester at length ventured to quit for a moment the strong-hold of his accustomed obscurity, and allowed the faction of which he was the acknowledged head to frame a regular accusation of Burghley to the Privy Council, but the plan was discovered to the Queen before it was fully matured, and the favourite was once more reprimanded by her. Original letters from him to the Treasurer, written at this precise period, stuffed with the most fulsome flattery, and professions of the warmest friendship, are still extant.

He is said to have appeased his vengeance by the sacrifice of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, a bold and busy politician, who, after having been deeply concerned in the negotiations between Mary and the Duke of Norfolk, unexpectedly quitted Leicester's party, and attached himself to Burghley. He died very suddenly in the Earl's house, as it was industriously reported, of a pleurisy, after

partaking of a supper to which Leicester had invited him, but little doubt was entertained that he had been taken off by poison, and the malice with which the favourite presently afterwards pursued his family almost established the fact. That Leicester dealt in that horrible method of assassination cannot be reasonably controverted, however we may be inclined to question some particular charges of that nature among the many which have been made against him. The honourable and amiable Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, to whom, both for public and private causes, he was a determined enemy, and whose gallant services in Ireland he had cruelly thwarted and depreciated, perished in that country with a clear impression on his mind, corroborated by the opinion of all who happened to be then about him, that his death had been so procured. The Countess of Lennox, (the mode of whose royal descent presented an obstacle to the possible inheritance of the Crown, derived from George Duke of Clarence, by Leicester's kinsman and favourite the Earl of Huntingdon, a speculation which he much cherished,) died, with strong symptoms of poison, presently after having received a visit from him. Nay, it has been generally reported, though probably untruly, that he retained in his establishment two persons, an Italian and a Jew, who were adepts in the diabolical art of preparing the means for such sacrifices; but the very exaggerations of the general charge on his memory tend to prove that it must have been in some degree well founded.

Yet this iniquitous man, not less odious in his private life, as we shall presently see, than disgraceful to the Queen and her Court; an enemy and torment to her ministers; the prime patron of the Puritans, whom she secretly regarded perhaps with more terror than the Papists; not only maintained his ground, but gradually rose in the estimation of Elizabeth to the last hour of his life. She seemed even anxious to publish to the world the distinction in which she held him. Her celebrated visit to him at his mansion of Kenilworth, in July 1575, was protracted to the length of nineteen days, an honour never on any other occasion granted by

her to a subject. In June 1577, she so far forgot herself as to write thus to the Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury—" Our very good cousins—Being given to understand from our cousin of Leicester how honourably he was not only lately received by you, our cousin the Countess, at Chatsworth, and his diet by you both discharged at Buxtons, but also presented with a very rare present, we should do him great wrong, holding him in that place of favour we do, in case we should not let you understand in how thankful sort we accept the same at both your hands, not as done unto him but to our own self, reputing him as another self; and therefore ye may assure yourselves that we, taking upon us the debt not as his but our own, will take care accordingly to discharge the same in such honourable sort as so well deserving creditors as ye shall never have cause to think ye have met with an ungrateful debtor." Numerous instances of this extravagant folly might be cited, and indeed Leicester's arrogance and presumption under such temptations form the most defensible part of his character. The degrading exposure of her motive however was yet to come—at this period he once more asked her hand, and was once more refused. Enraged at the disappointment, he instantly married, without making any communication to her of his intention ; and Elizabeth, in utter contempt not only of the delicacy of her sex and the dignity of her station, but of all principles of law and justice which could bear any relation to the case, tore him from the arms of his bride, and imprisoned him in a little fortress which then stood in the park at Greenwich. This transport of angry jealousy however soon subsided. Leicester was released, and restored to full favour, and is said to have consoled himself for his short disgrace with schemes for the assassination of Simier, an agent from the Duke of Anjou, who was then in London, negotiating for the projected marriage of that Prince to Elizabeth, and whom he suspected to have apprised her of his own secret nuptials.

This treaty, which had been for a while suspended, was renewed in 1581, when a more honourable embassy arrived from the

French Court, and Leicester, who had now thought fit to assume the character of an advocate for the proposed union, was named among those who were appointed to confer with the commissioners. Anjou soon followed; but the strange caprice of Elizabeth on this occasion, which forms a remarkable and well known feature in the history of the time, finally disgusted him so highly, that, after three months' residence in her court, he suddenly embarked in the beginning of the succeeding year for the Low Countries, the government of which he had lately accepted. She indulged Leicester with the triumph of convoying thither his illustrious and rejected rival, and in this visit he probably laid the groundwork for that proud appointment to which, by the joint act of herself and those States, he was soon after nominated. He returned to a Court and Council agitated by the discovery of some designs lately projected by the friends of the unhappy Mary, and yet more by doubts and suspicions. He seized the opportunity of displaying his loyalty, and of indulging his hatred of the royal prisoner, by proposing to the nobility and gentry a bond of association by which they should engage themselves to pursue, even unto death, those who might form any plan against the life, or crown, or dignity, of Elizabeth. Mary was in fact the secret object of this widely extended menace, but the terror which it inspired having for a time paralysed the efforts of her adherents, he became impatient of her existence, and boldly moved the Queen that she should be taken off by poison. Elizabeth, nothing loth, undoubtedly proposed it to her ministers, for it is historically proved that Walsingham, practised and even hackneyed as he was in a sort of treachery legalized by the fatal necessity of States, protested against so heinous a measure, and insisted that she should not be put to death without at least the forms of judicial enquiry.

It was just at this period that a deadly invective, under the title of "Leicester's Commonwealth," or at least so entitled in subsequent editions, issued from the press in Flanders, and was presently dispersed in vast abundance throughout England, and indeed in

most of the nations of Europe. It consisted of a circumstantial relation of all the crimes and faults which had been at any time laid to the charge of the favourite, delivered with the utmost artifice of affected candour and simplicity, and intermixed with political reflections, tending to prove that every cause of complaint which existed in England might be traced to his malign influence. No publication ever before obtained so sudden and extensive a circulation. It was read with the utmost avidity; and the ridiculous efforts for its suppression made by Elizabeth, whose policy where Leicester was concerned always gave way to her passions, served but to excite to the highest pitch the curiosity of her subjects. She compelled her Council to address letters to the lieutenants of counties, and other public functionaries, charging them to prohibit the perusal of the pamphlet, and to punish severely the dispersers of it; and, not content with this degree of folly, made them insert a declaration (to use their own words) that "her Majesty testified in her conscience before God that she knew in assured certainty the books and libels published against the Earl to be most scandalous, and such as none but an incarnate devil himself could dream to be true." Her subservient Council, most of the members of which utterly detested him, outran their mistress in vehement assertions of his innocence—assertions which they knew to be false, and of the truth of which, had they been otherwise than false, no evidence could possibly have been obtained. There is indeed little reason to doubt any of the allegations of this celebrated libel. Sir Philip Sidney, who was Leicester's nephew, sat down, in all the pride and heat of youth and full consciousness of talent, to refute them, and almost wholly failed. Despairing of success, and perhaps at length deterred from attempting it in such a cause by that fine moral feeling which distinguished him, he laid his work aside, after considerable progress, the fruit of which remained unpublished till the appearance, of late years, of the Sidney Papers.

In the following year, 1585, the United Provinces, yet unable to establish their independence, reiterated a request formerly

made to Elizabeth, to become their sovereign. Anxious at once to avoid the jealous imputation of an ambitious desire of extending her dominion to curb the power of Spain, and to aid the Protestant cause, she refused the offer, but readily agreed to furnish them with a powerful aid of troops and money. Leicester solicited, and instantly obtained, the command of this expedition, and was received, on his landing at Flushing, of which his nephew Sidney had been previously appointed Governor, with all the respect due to a Viceroy, which character, in contradiction to his instructions, he instantly assumed. The States, eager to persuade Philip the second that Elizabeth exercised a virtual sovereignty over them, invested the Earl by a solemn act with supreme authority, which he readily accepted, and, amidst the gorgeous festivities prepared to celebrate his exaltation, letters arrived from her, both to himself and to the States, in a tone of unexampled fury.—"We little thought," said she to Leicester, "that one whom we had raised out of the dust, and prosecuted with such singular favour above all others, would with so great contempt have slighted and broken our commands in a matter of so great consequence, and so highly concerning us and our honour," &c. This was worthy of the daughter of Henry the eighth, but the weakness of Elizabeth presently succeeded. Leicester returned a submissive explanation, and was instantly restored to full favour, nor does it appear even that the appointment which had produced this ebullition of capricious wrath was revoked. His service however in the Low Countries was marked by misfortune and disgrace. Totally deficient in military experience, he found himself opposed to the Prince of Parma, one of the first generals of the age, and a politician also of no mean fame; and his admirable nephew, whose advice had aided him in the council, and whose example had invigorated him in the field, fell a sacrifice to the intemperance of his valour before the walls of Zutphen. The States became envious of his authority, and thwarted the measures of his government, already weak and inefficient, and he increased their jealousy by striving to ingratiate himself with the people. He returned

to England, disgusted but unwillingly; the faction which he had formed prevailed on the States again to solicit his presence, and on the twenty-fifth of June, 1587, he landed in Zealand, with new levies. Fresh discords however arising, Elizabeth, with his concurrence, finally recalled him in the succeeding November, and shielded him by her authority against a regular charge of mal-administration in the Low Countries, which had been prepared before his arrival, and was now preferred to the Privy Council by a party of his enemies, headed by the Lord Buckhurst, whom the Queen had lately sent thither to learn the true state of affairs, and who was rewarded for his pains by a vote of censure and an imprisonment of several months.

Leicester had now reached the highest pinnacle of favour and power. Elizabeth could refuse him nothing, and her ministers, even Burghley himself, seem to have trembled at his nod. All the most important commands, civil and military, in the nation, were in the hands of his relations or friends; to the offices already held by himself she had very lately added those of Steward of her Household, and Chief Justice of the forests south of Trent; and in the summer of 1588, placed him at the head of the army which she had raised to resist the expected Spanish invasion. She thus concluded her speech to these troops, when she reviewed them at Tilbury—"Rather than any dishonour shall grow by me, I myself will take up arms; I myself will be your general, judge, and rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field. I know already by your forwardness that you have deserved rewards and crowns; and I do assure you, on the word of a prince, they shall be duly paid you. In the mean time, my lieutenant general shall be in my stead, than whom never prince commanded a more noble and worthy subject." In this moment, such is the insatiable thirst of ambition, he solicited Elizabeth to appoint him to the office, not less unusual than enormously powerful and dignified, of Lieutenant, or Vicegerent, of her Kingdoms of England and Ireland, and even this, tenacious as she was of her royal authority, she readily conceded to him. It is said that a patent for this mighty

appointment was ready for the Great Seal, when Burghley, and her Chancellor Hatton, ventured to remonstrate with her, and so far succeeded as to obtain leave to suspend for some days that gratification. In the mean time Leicester left London for a short sojournment at Kenilworth castle, and on his way thither stopped at his house of Cornbury, in Oxfordshire, where he was seized by a rapid fever, and expired on the fourth of September, 1588.

From the foregoing sketch I have hitherto excluded any particulars of the domestic life of this most remarkable person. They will be found, singularly enough, considering the cast of his character, to be little concerned with his public story, the chain of which they would therefore but have served to disconnect. All parts of his conduct however, morally viewed, were in horrible harmony, for the man was as abominably wicked as the statesman and courtier.

Leicester, at the age of eighteen, married Anne, or Amy, daughter and heir of Sir John Robsart, a gentleman of Norfolk, distinguished by antiquity, indeed splendour, of descent, and by his great possessions in that county. They were wedded, as Edward the sixth, in whose presence the nuptials were solemnized, states in his journal, on the fourth of June, 1550, and lived together, with what degree of cordiality we are not informed, for ten years, but had no children. It is scarcely to be doubted that he caused this lady to be assassinated, and the circumstances of the time, as well as of the case itself, tend to press on his memory this dreadful charge perhaps more heavily than any other of the same character. Her death occurred on the eighth of September, 1560, at the very period when the lofty hope of obtaining the hand of his sovereign may be clearly presumed to have reigned with the strongest sway in his overheated mind. He sent her, with what avowed motives does not appear, to the solitary manor-house of Cumnor, in Berkshire, a village not far from Oxford, inhabited by one of his train, named Anthony Forster. Thither she was shortly followed by Sir Richard Verney, another of his retainers, and a few days after, these persons having sent all her servants to

Abingdon fair, and no one being with her but themselves, she died in consequence, as they reported, of a fall down a staircase. But "the inhabitants of Cumnor," says Aubrey, in whose history of Berkshire all that could be collected on the subject is minutely detailed, "will tell you there that she was conveyed from her usual chamber where she lay to another, where the bed's head of the chamber stood close to a privy postern door, where they in the night came, and stifled her in her bed; bruised her head very much; broke her neck; and at length flung her down stairs; thereby believing the world would have thought it a mischance, and so have blinded their villainy." Nor was this plan of violence adopted till after they had vainly attempted to destroy her by poison, through the unconscious aid of Dr. Bailey, then professor of Physic in the University of Oxford, who had resisted their earnest importunity to make a medicine for her, when he knew she was in perfect health, suspecting, from his observation of circumstances, as he afterwards declared, that they intended to add to it some deadly drug, and trembling for his own safety. The disfigured corpse was hurried to the earth without a coroner's inquest; and to such a height did the pity and resentment of the neighbouring families arise, that they employed the pen of Thomas Lever, a prebendary of Coventry, to write to the Secretaries of State, intreating that a strict enquiry should be made into the true cause of the lady's death, but the application had no effect. The strongest inference however of Leicester's guilt in this case is to be drawn from a string of reasons, noted down by Cecil himself, why the Queen should not make him her husband, one of which is—"that he is infamed by the death of his wife."—The effect of such a remark, made by such a person, and for such a purpose, wants little of the force of positive evidence.

The relaxations of such a man as Leicester are commonly sought in the gratification of mere appetite, and such were his. After a variety of amorous intrigues, not worthy of recollection, he became more than usually attached to Douglas, daughter of William Howard first Lord Effingham, and widow of John, Lord

Sheffield. Vulgar report, presuming on the known enormities of his life, proclaimed that he had disposed of her husband by those infernal secret means, so frequently ascribed to him in other cases. Be this as it might, it is certain that he married her, or deceived her into a pretended marriage, immediately after the death of Lord Sheffield. By this Lady he had a son, with whose future story, remarkable as it was rendered by the dispositions unhappily and infamously made by the father, this memoir has no concern, and a daughter. He stipulated with the unfortunate Douglas that their marriage should be kept profoundly secret; the children were debarred from any intercourse with their mother; and the Earl, having some years after determined to marry another, compelled her by threats, by promises, and at length, by attempts on her life, to make a most effectual, though tacit, renunciation of all marital claims on him, by publicly taking to her husband Sir Edward Stafford. These nefarious circumstances were disclosed, shortly before the death of Elizabeth, in the prosecution of a suit in the Star Chamber instituted to establish the legitimacy, and consequent right of inheritance, of her son; and on this occasion Douglas, after having proved by the testimony of many respectable witnesses her marriage to the deceased Earl, declared on oath the foul proceedings by which she had been forced to throw herself into the arms and on the protection of Stafford; concluding with a relation of the means which Leicester had previously used to take her off by poison, under the operation of which she swore that her hair and her nails had fallen off; that her constitution had been ruined; and that she had narrowly escaped with life.

The object for whom he abandoned this miserable lady was Lettice, daughter of Sir Francis Knollys, and relict of Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex. The already strong suspicion that Leicester had caused by the same diabolical means the death of that nobleman, to which some slight allusion has already been made, was aggravated to the utmost by the indecent haste with which he wedded the widow, with whom there was no doubt that

he had for some time before maintained a guilty intercourse. This was the marriage which so highly excited the displeasure of Elizabeth, and which she unremittingly resented towards the Countess by an insulting neglect, in spite of all the instances of the young Essex, her son, who succeeded his uncle in the Queen's extravagant favour. Leicester had by this lady, one son, Robert; who died in childhood four years before his father. She survived the Earl for nearly half a century; and persecuted with tedious and ruinous suits his son by Lady Sheffield, whose legitimacy Leicester, with a folly equal to his injustice, had sometimes affirmed and sometimes denied, and to whom he had bequeathed his princely castle and domain of Kenilworth, of which the unfortunate gentleman was at last in a manner defrauded by the Crown in the succeeding reign.

Such, on the whole, was Elizabeth's most distinguished favourite. History, to its lamentable discredit, invariably asserts, in the same breath, his wickedness and the wisdom of his royal patroness—one or the other of those assertions must be false.

Engraved by H T Ryall

AMBROSE DUDLEY, EARL OF WARWICK.

OB. 1590.

FROM THE ORIGINAL, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY.

London, Published Dec.r 1.1816 by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall

AMBROSE DUDLEY,

EARL OF WARWICK.

EMINENCE of consanguinity, rather than any special merit or fame of his own, beyond the quiet and unassuming recommendation of an unblemished moral character, has preserved the memory of this nobleman from a neglect perhaps approaching to oblivion. A son, and at length heir, of the mighty Duke of Northumberland; a brother of that paragon of royal favour and of wickedness, Leicester, and of the innocent and ill fated consort of Jane Grey; claimed, as it were, in their right some degree of distinction, and history has probably preserved all that could have been collected of his story. He was the fourth, but at length eldest surviving son of his father, by Jane, daughter of Sir Henry Guldeford, and was born in the year 1530, or 1531.

He is said to have manifested at an early age a passion for military fame. It is certain that he was in the expedition commanded by his father in 1549 against the Norfolk rebels, and not improbable that he owed the honour of knighthood, which he received on the seventeenth of November in that year, to some instances of that wild gallantry which in those days was esteemed the prime qualification for a soldier. He returned to the insipid life of a courtier, and we hear of him only as a partaker in tournaments and banquets till the arrest of the Duke, his father, with whom of course he had engaged in the support of Jane Grey's weak and unwilling pretensions to the Crown in July 1553. He was attainted, and received sentence of death, together with his

brothers, John, Robert, and Henry, and they were confined in the Tower of London till the eighteenth of October in the succeeding year, when Mary granted him a pardon for life, permitted him to come to Court, and received him into some degree of favour. Philip, her consort, for reasons not clearly assigned, became the patron of the crest-fallen remains of the House of Dudley. Ambrose volunteered into the Spanish army, in the Low Countries, and distinguished himself in the summer of 1557 at the celebrated battle of St. Quintin, and his younger brother, Henry, who accompanied him in the same character, fell during the siege of that place. Mary, at the King's intercession, now dispelled the cloud in which the extravagant ambition of Northumberland had involved his progeny, and in the conclusion of that year, this young nobleman, together with his surviving brother Robert, afterwards Earl of Leicester, were fully restored by an act of Parliament.

The stupendous influence of that brother, which marked even the commencement of the reign of Elizabeth, presently secured a large share of her favour to Ambrose. He obtained a royal grant of estates in Leicestershire in her first year, and in the next she appointed him Master of the Ordnance for life. These boons were presently followed by the restoration of some of his father's dignities; on the twenty-fifth of December, 1561, he was created Baron of Kingston Lisle in the county of Berks, and on the following day Earl of Warwick. It was just at this period that the great contest began in France between the Papists and the Huguenots which afterwards obtained the denomination of the war of the League. The reformers solicited the aid of Elizabeth, and offered to place in her hands one of the most considerable ports in Normandy, which they besought her to garrison with English troops. She consented, not only readily but eagerly, and Havre de Grace, generally called Newhaven by the historical writers of that time, was given up to her; Warwick was nominated to the command, with the title of the Queen's Lieutenant in the province; and on the twenty-ninth of October, 1562,

landed at Havre, with three thousand soldiers, and was with much ceremony sworn into his office.

In this command, the only arduous public service in which we find him, his conduct, equally distinguished by fidelity, prudence, and courage, amply proved his ability for the most important military undertakings. The effects of his vigilance and activity were felt in every part of Normandy, from whence, by the aid of repeated excursions from his stronghold, he had enabled the Protestants almost wholly to expel their enemies, when he found himself suddenly abandoned by them, and discovered that they had treacherously agreed on certain terms with the Leaguers, and even engaged themselves to turn their arms against him. He now shut himself up in his garrison, having previously dismissed the French of both persuasions, and was presently invested by a powerful army, under the command of the Constable de Montmorency. Terrible hardships and calamities ensued. The spring and summer passed almost without rain; the French cut the aqueducts which supplied the town; and the soldiers were obliged to boil their miserable sustenance in sea-water, which was frequently too their only beverage. An epidemic distemper, which carried off great numbers, succeeded. At length Warwick, after having sustained with uncommon perseverance a siege not less obstinate than his defence, surrendered in the autumn of 1563, but not till he had received the Queen's especial command, and effected a most honourable capitulation. During the treaty, having appeared without his armour on the ramparts to speak to a distinguished French officer, a villain fired at him from beneath, and wounded him in the leg with a poisoned bullet, a misfortune the consequences of which during the remainder of his life probably rendered retirement almost necessary to him, and prevented his accepting favours and distinctions which he seems so well to have merited. He was elected a Knight of the Garter in 1562, and invested at Havre with the ensigns of the Order.

In 1568, he was appointed one of the commissioners for the inquiry into the great matter of the Queen of Scots, on her arrival

in England; in 1569, on the occasion of the rebellion of the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, himself and the Lord Clinton were appointed, jointly and severally, the Queen's Lieutenants in the north, and the suppression of it was chiefly owing to his care and vigilance; and in the succeeding year Elizabeth conferred on him the dignified office, or rather title, of Chief Butler of England. In 1570 he was sworn of the Privy Council, and included in the number of Peers appointed by the royal commission for the trial of the Duke of Norfolk; and this, with the exception of his having been similarly employed on the trial, as it was called, of the Queen of Scots, is the last notice to be found of his interference in any matter of the State. After the conclusion of the sitting, Mary addressed herself to him as to one for whom she felt a regard, and in whom she placed some confidence. Of Elizabeth's esteem for him, or of her inclination at least to persuade him how highly she esteemed him, a fair judgment may be formed from the following postcript, in her own hand-writing, to a letter from her privy Council, written to him during the siege of Havre.

"My dear Warwick,

If your honour and my desire could accord with the loss of the needfullest finger I keep, God so help me in my utmost need as I would gladly lose that one joint for your safe abode with me; but since I cannot that I would, I will do that I may; and will rather drink in an ashen cup than you or your's should not be succoured both by sea and land, yea, and that with all speed possible; and let this my scribbling hand witness it unto them all.

Yours, as my own,

E. R.

Warwick is said to have understood and patronised the commercial and manufacturing interests of his country. Certain it is that he was much engaged in a design projected by some

London merchants for opening the trade to Barbary, which at length proved unsuccessful; and that in 1585 he obtained from the Queen an exclusive licence for two years for the exporting woollen cloths thither by some of them who had suffered the heaviest losses; but no farther inference can be drawn from those circumstances than that he himself was a party in their speculations, a condescension by no means rare among the nobility towards the conclusion of the reign of Elizabeth. Of the fact that he was a person of most unblemished conduct both in public and private life, there can be no possible doubt. His character stands wholly unimpeached: even in that volume of virulent censure on the rest of his family, known by the title of "Leicester's Commonwealth," his name is never mentioned disrespectfully: In the few notices of him with which history furnishes us it is always accompanied by praise, and his popular appellation was "the good Earl of Warwick." Towards the conclusion of his life the misery of the incurable wound which he had received at Havre gradually increased, and at length became intolerable, and threatened mortification. In an unsigned letter to George, sixth Earl of Shrewsbury, of the fourth of February, 1589-90, the writer says—"My Lo. of Warwick is like to go. His offices are already nere bestowed. Grafton" (doubtless the royal honour of Grafton which we are not elsewhere informed was held by him) "upon the Lo. Chancellor; Butlerage, upon the Lo. of Buckehurst; for the M^{r}.ship of the Ordynaunce my Lorde Graye and Sir John Parratt stryve." Mr. Thomas Markham, in a detail of court news to the same nobleman, of the seventeenth of that month writes—"on Wednesdaye was sennight, as I am suer your L. hath hard, my Lord of Warwyk had his leg cutt off, since which tyme he hath amendid, but not so faste as I wolld wyshe." On the twentieth he expired at the house of his brother-in-law, the Earl of Bedford, in Bloomsbury, and was buried at Warwick, where a curious altar tomb was erected to his memory by his widow.

This nobleman was thrice married; first to Anne, daughter

and heir of William Whorwood, Attorney General in the reign of Henry the eighth, by whom he had his only child, John, who died an infant before 1552. His second Lady was Elizabeth daughter of Sir Gilbert Talboys, and sister and sole heir to George, last Lord Talboys. He married, thirdly, Anne, daughter of Francis Russel Earl of Bedford.

Engraved by J. Cochran.

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

OB. 1590.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE COLLECTION OF

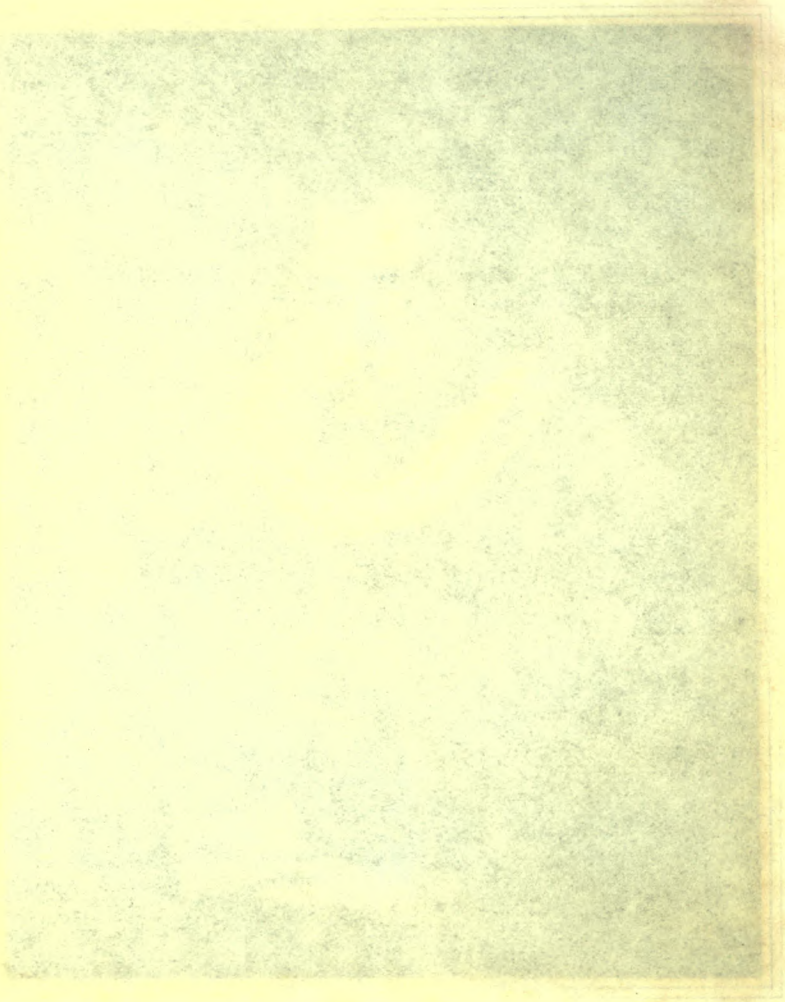
HIS GRACE THE LATE DUKE OF DORSET.

London. Published August 1.1819. by Harding & Lepard Pall Mall East.

SIR FR[illegible]

The [illegible]
his time [illegible]
nually devoted [illegible]
of the man [illegible]
on the other [illegible]
invisibly [illegible]
most of the [illegible]
exercised. It [illegible]
ment or insult [illegible]
it must be [illegible]
honest [illegible]
faithful [illegible]

He descended [illegible]
Norfolk, [illegible]
Walsingham [illegible]
the time of He[illegible]
of William W[illegible]
by Joyce, daughter [illegible]
shire. He was [illegible]
and afterwards [illegible]
from whence he went, [illegible]
tion on the continent. [illegible]
him to remain abroad till [illegible]
protestants, and he was [illegible]
He had thus abundant leisure [illegible]



SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

The life of Walsingham, reputed one of the first statesmen of his time, affords but scanty materials to the biographer. Continually devoted, from an early age, to public affairs, the character of the man was almost absorbed in that of the minister; while, on the other hand, the mysterious secrecy with which he moved, invisibly as it were, in the service of the State, conceals from us most of the particulars of that great agency which we know he exercised. It may be fairly said of him, without either compliment or insult to his memory, that he was an illustrious spy; but it must be added, that he is said to have been in private life an honest and kind-hearted man. He certainly was a wise and faithful public servant.

He descended from a very ancient and respectable family in Norfolk, said to have derived its surname from the town of Walsingham, a junior branch of which migrated into Kent about the time of Henry the sixth, and was the third and youngest son of William Walsingham, of Scadbury, in the parish of Chislehurst, by Joyce, daughter of Edmund Denny, of Cheshunt, in Hertfordshire. He was bred in his father's house, under a private tutor, and afterwards studied for a time in King's College, in Cambridge, from whence he went, very young, to seek a more enlarged education on the continent. The persecution raised by Mary induced him to remain abroad till her death, for his family were zealous protestants, and he was earnestly attached to that persuasion. He had thus abundant leisure for the employment of a most acute

mind, naturally, if it may be so said, directed to the observation of the characters of nations and of individuals, of courts and of councils, of manners, customs, and political systems. He returned therefore, soon after the accession of Elizabeth, a self-made statesman, with the additional advantage of a perfect knowledge of most of the European languages, for he had always the reputation of being the first linguist of his time. Thus qualified, he fell in the way of Secretary Cecil, afterwards the celebrated Lord Burghley, who, presently discerning the true character of his talents, retained him with eagerness, and made him, almost immediately, a principal agent in such affairs as peculiarly required activity and secrecy. Thus the management of Elizabeth's concerns at the Court of France was implicitly committed to his charge, at a time when they required the most refined diplomatic skill; while a dreadful civil war was raging in that country, and its Cabinet distinguished by a policy equally acute and perfidious.

Having remained there many years, he returned, for a short time, to aid the deliberations of Elizabeth's ministers on the great question of the French marriage, to which he seems to have been then really inclined; and in August, 1570, was sent again to Paris, professedly to negotiate on that subject, but, in fact, rather to agitate others of the highest importance. A very fine collection of his despatches during that mission fell into the hands of Sir Dudley Digges, and were published in 1655, under the title of "The Compleat Ambassador." Those letters exhibit the perhaps unparalleled combination in one and the same mind of the most enlarged understanding, and the minutest cunning. Such were his wisdom and his address, that he contrived, while he treated of a proposal which might seem to have no chance of success but in mutual good faith, and perfect amity, to embarrass Charles the ninth to the utmost by fomenting the insurrection of the Huguenots; to thwart the great designs of the House of Austria, by laying the foundation of the war in the Low Countries; and, after having passed three years in the prosecution of these opposite plans, to leave an honourable character behind him in a

Court whose favourite interests he had constantly and successfully endeavoured to injure. He returned in April, 1573, and was received by Elizabeth with the highest grace and approbation.

Very shortly after his arrival, he was nominated one of the principal Secretaries of State. Gilbert Lord Talbot writes to his father, George, Earl of Shrewsbury, on the eleventh of May, 1573, "Mr. Walsingham is this day come hither to the Courte: It is thought he shall be made Secretary: Sir Thomas Smythe and he, both together, shall exercise that office." They were accordingly appointed; but the superintendence of all matters of extraordinary delicacy and secrecy in their department was committed to Walsingham alone, and he seems to have referred them all to one principle of management. Espionnage, to use a word which is now almost English, and for which our language affords no synonyme, had been reduced by him to a system of precise regularity. Lloyd, making a nice distinction, states the number of persons employed by him in foreign Courts to have been fifty-three agents, and eighteen spies. "He had the wonderful art," says the author of the Life of Lord Bolingbroke, almost copying after the same Lloyd, without acknowledging the obligation, "of weaving plots in which busy people were so entangled that they could never escape; but were sometimes spared upon submission, sometimes hanged for examples." Lloyd, again, tells us that he would "cherish a plot for some years together; admitting the conspirators to his, and the Queen's, presence familiarly, but dogging them out watchfully;" and that "his spies waited on some men every hour for three years."

In 1578 he was sent for a short time, accompanied by Lord Cobham, to the Netherlands, to treat, with little sincerity, of a peace between the new republic and the King of Spain; and in 1581 was again appointed Ambassador to the Court of France. The Duke of Anjou, since the accession of his brother, Henry the third, had renewed with earnestness his solicitations for the hand of Elizabeth, who, on her part, from a policy which has never

been clearly understood, or from a caprice yet more unaccountable, had met his advances with a warmth and freedom ill suited to the dignity of an independent Queen, or to the prudence of a woman at the age of forty-five. The Duke had been thus tempted to visit her Court, in the declared character of a lover; had been received by her with unbecoming tokens of affection; and soon after repelled with coldness and disdain. The professed object of Walsingham's mission was to negotiate, previously to the proposed marriage, an offensive and defensive league, but the real view was either to reconcile those contrarieties, or to involve them in deeper mystery. He was despatched, in 1583, on an embassy, equally faithless, to the young King of Scotland, afterwards our James the first. Sir James Melvil, a plain honest man, who was naturally prejudiced in Walsingham's favour, as well because they had been acquainted, and had travelled together, in their youth, as that one part of the Secretary's instructions was to detach the King from a party which Melvil disliked, gives a large and remarkable account in his Memoirs of this minister's intercourse with James. "His Majesty," says Melvil, "appointed four of the Council, and himself, to reason with Sir Francis, and to sound what he would be at; but he refused to deal with any but with his Majesty, who heard him again." He flattered James's vanity with the highest praise of his wisdom and erudition, and fully persuaded Melvil that he had visited Scotland with the purest intention of serving that Prince. "The King marvelled," concludes Sir James, "that the Chief Secretary of England, burthened with so many great affairs, sickly, and aged, should have enterprized so painful a voyage without any purpose; for it could not be perceived what was his errand, save only that he gave his Majesty good counsel." It is not surprising that even Walsingham should have failed to accomplish the object of this embassy, inasmuch as he had to contend, not with politics, but with passions. His secret instructions doubtless had been to detach James from his favourite, the Earl of Arran; and to place him again in the hands of the very noblemen who had just before

held him in a degrading captivity, and even threatened his life, in that mysterious outrage distinguished in Scottish history by the name of the "Raid of Ruthven," Elizabeth's participation in which was more than suspected.

He returned, from thus attempting to cajole the son, to take a frightful share in the odious measures of Elizabeth against the mother. Patriotism and loyalty, however enthusiastic, could furnish no apology for the fraud and treachery with which he surrounded the unhappy Mary in her prison. The exquisite refinement, and endless variety, of his designs to entrap her, savoured more of a natural taste for deception than of zeal for the public service. He seems indeed in many instances to have purposely delayed the fruition of his artifices, for the mere delight of changing or repeating them. In the remarkable case of what is usually called "Babington's conspiracy," Ballard, a priest, who was the original mover of the design, was continually attended, from the very dawn of it, by Maude, one of Walsingham's spies. Maude first affected to aid him in England; then passed over with him into France, to tamper with the Spanish Ambassador, and others, and returned with him; assisted largely in debauching Babington, and several other young men of good families, and in constructing the whole machinery of the plot, in constant intelligence always with his master. In the meantime, another, named Giffard, insinuated himself into the society of some who were in the confidence of the Queen of Scots, and undertook to manage a correspondence between her and the conspirators, in which every letter written by her, as well as their answers, were delivered first to Walsingham, by whom they were opened, deciphered, copied, re-sealed, and forged, additions occasionally made to them, and then despatched to their several destinations. Walsingham at length condescended to become intimate with Babington, purposely to prostitute his own personal agency in this base tragedy; and, having occupied himself for six months in drawing his net every hour nearer and nearer to the unsuspecting victims, was at last compelled to close it over them by positive

orders from Elizabeth, dictated by her fears. "Thus far," says Camden, who gives a most interesting and circumstantial detail of the whole, "had Walsingham spun the thread alone, without acquainting the rest of the Queen's Council; and longer would he have drawn it, but the Queen would not suffer it, lest, as she said herself, by not heeding and preventing the danger while she might, she might seem rather to tempt God than to trust in God."

But a charge of a blacker nature rests heavily on the memory of Walsingham. In a long letter in the Harleian Collection, addressed by him, and his Co-Secretary, Davison, within the period of which I have just now spoken, to Sir Amias Powlett, and Sir Drue Drury, by whom Mary was then held in close custody, are these terrific passages—"We find by speech lately uttered by her Majesty, that she doth note in you both a lack of that care and zeal for her service that she looketh for at your hands, in that you have not in all this time, of yourselves, without other provocation, found out some way to shorten the **** ** that Queen, considering the great peril she is hourly subject to so long as the said Queen shall live; wherein, besides a kind of lack of love to her, she noteth greatly that you have not that care of your own particular safeties, or rather of the preservation of religion, and the public good and prosperity of your country, that reason and policy commandeth; especially having so good a warrant and ground for the satisfaction of your consciences towards God, and the discharge of your credit and reputation towards the world, as the oath of the association, which you both have so solemnly taken and vowed; especially the matter wherewith she standeth charged being so clearly and manifestly proved against her. And therefore she taketh it most unkindly that men professing that love towards her that you do, should in a kind of sort, for lack of the discharge of your duty, cast the burthen upon her, knowing, as you do, her indisposition to shed blood, especially of one of that sex and quality, and so near to her in blood as the said Queen is. These respects we find do greatly

trouble her Majesty, who we assure you hath sundry times protested that, if the regard of the danger of her good subjects, and faithful servants, did not more move her than her own peril, she would never be drawn to assent to the shedding of her blood, &c."

Great pains have been taken to discredit the authenticity of this letter, but it is difficult to conceive with what view such a document could have been forged; for the character of Elizabeth, who so soon after publicly stained herself with the blood of that miserable Princess, could scarcely have suffered further deterioration by such a charge. Besides, were it proper to argue the point in this place, evidence nearly positive might be produced that Elizabeth had at other times given private orders that she should be put to death, in the event of the occurrence of certain circumstances; but we have here no business with the letter, except as an additional proof of Walsingham's habitual abandonment of every principle of justice, humanity, and honour, to the will of a sanguinary tyrant. Mary, on her trial, challenged him as her bitterest and most treacherous enemy. Camden informs us that she said, alluding to the charges against her with regard to Babington's plot, "that it was an easy thing to counterfeit the ciphers and characters of others, as a young man did very lately in France, who gave himself out to be her son's base brother; and that she was afraid this was done by Walsingham, to bring her to her end; who, as she had heard, had practised both against her life, and her son's."

The detail of Walsingham's secret machinations would fill a volume. Perhaps the most remarkable was that by which he managed for a considerable time to prevent the fitting out of that famous expedition called the Spanish Armada. He had obtained intelligence from Madrid that Philip had informed his ministers that he had written to Rome, to disclose to the Pope the secret object of his great preparations by sea and land, and to beg his Holiness's blessing on the enterprise; and that he should conceal his views from them till the return of the courier. Walsingham,

so far informed, employed a Venetian priest, one of his resident spies at Rome, to gain a copy of the King of Spain's letter. The priest corrupted a gentleman of the Pope's bedchamber, who took the key of his Holiness's cabinet out of his pocket while he slept; transcribed the letter; and returned the key. Hence Walsingham discovered that Philip had negotiated to raise the money to equip his fleet by bills on Genoa; and he contrived, through the aid of Sutton, the famous founder of the Charter-House, as it is said, and other eminent English merchants at Genoa, that nearly all those bills should be protested, and by that artifice impeded the sailing of the fleet for more than twelve months.

Walsingham, like several others of Elizabeth's most faithful servants, received few solid marks of her favour. He never held any public office, in addition to his laborious and unprofitable Secretaryship, except that of Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, which was not conferred on him till about 1587, late in his life, and he afterwards obtained the Order of the Garter. He lived and died miserably poor; for, such was his zeal, and such his mistress's baseness, that he lavished great sums from his own purse on the public service, and was never repaid. Camden says, that "he watched the practices of the papists with so great an expense that he lessened his estate by that means, and brought himself so far in debt that he was buried privately, by night, in St. Paul's Church, without any manner of funeral ceremony." This is truly stated, for in his will I find this passage—"I desire that my body may be buried without any such extraordinary ceremonies as usually appertain to a man serving in my place, in respect of the greatness of my debts, and the mean state I shall leave my wife, and heir, in; charging both my executor and overseers, to see this duly accomplished, according to the special trust and confidence I repose in them." He bequeaths to that heir, his only surviving child, no more than an annuity of one hundred pounds, and orders his "lands in Lincolnshire" to be sold for the payment of his debts. He died on the sixth of April, 1590, of a local complaint, not understood by the surgeons of that

day; or rather, as Camden with much probability tells us, by the violence of the medicines which were administered to him; having been twice married; first, to Anne, daughter of Sir George Barnes, an Alderman of London, who died childless; secondly, to Ursula, daughter of Henry St. Barbe, of Somersetshire, and widow of Richard Worsley, who brought him two daughters, Frances, and Mary, the latter of whom died unmarried in June, 1580. Frances was thrice splendidly wedded: first, to the memorable Sir Philip Sidney; secondly, to Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex; and, thirdly, to Richard de Burgh, Earl of Clanricarde; by each of whom she left issue.

Sir Francis Walsingham founded a Divinity Lecture at Oxford, and acknowledged his affection to King's College in Cambridge, by bestowing on it a library. A book, which appeared not long after his death, and which has frequently been reprinted, intituled "Arcana Aulica, or Walsingham's Manual of Prudential Maxims," has usually been reputed the work of his pen; but was more probably a compilation by some confidential person about him.

Engraved by W.H.Mote.

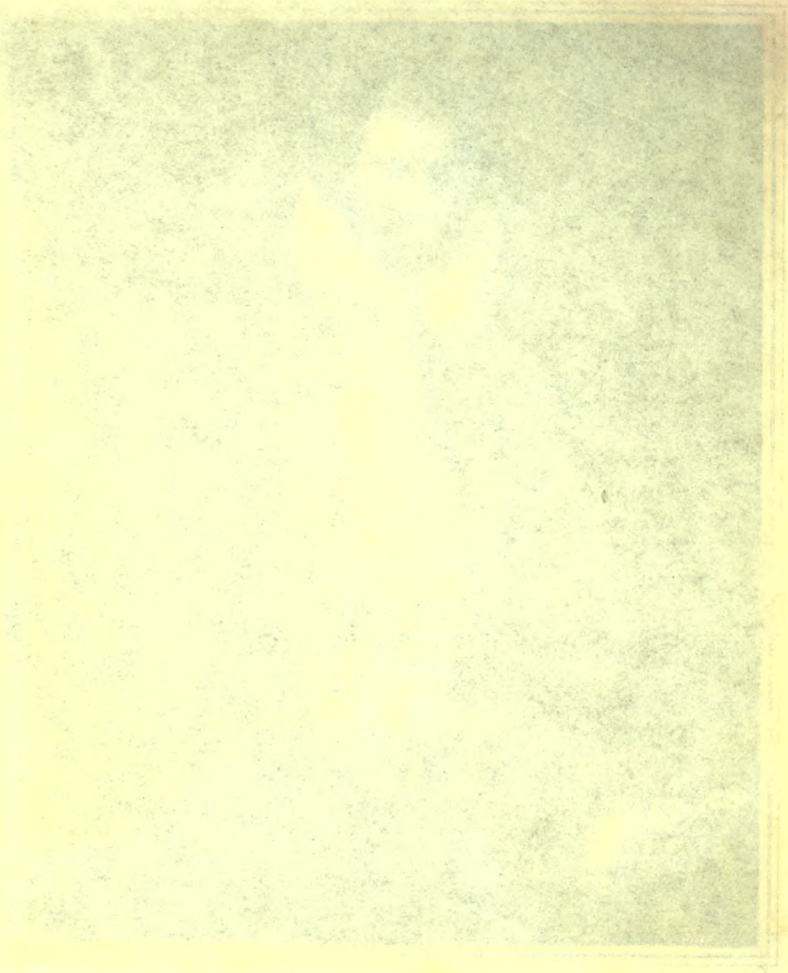
SIR CHRISTOPHER HATTON.

OB. 1591.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF KETEL, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE VISCOUNT DILLON.

London, Published Dec^r 1.1836, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.



SIR CHRISTOPHER HATTON.

We know but enough of this gentleman's history to make us wish for more. His elevation to the first place in the cabinet, and to the supreme seat in the administration of justice, coupled with the fantastic singularity of the incongruous and unconnected steps by which he ascended, throw about his legend an air of romance, while our utter ignorance of the motives which induced Elizabeth thus greatly and strangely to distinguish him, involve it in suitable mystery. It is scarcely less extraordinary that these circumstances should not have excited the curiosity of the historians and pamphleteers of the succeeding century, or, if they did enquire into them, that they should have withheld from us the fruit of their researches, recording only the silly and incredible tale that he danced himself into his preferments. This remarkable silence on a point of history so likely to provoke discussion, induces a suspicion that it arose from fear, or prudence, or delicacy. Hatton was one of the handsomest and most accomplished men of his time, and the conduct of Elizabeth had already betrayed, in more than one instance, the extravagances into which personal predilections, of a nature not easy to be defined, were capable of leading her. These are facts of such notoriety, that the supposition of an additional instance of similar weakness will not be deemed a libel on the memory of the virgin Queen. That Hatton was an object of this anomalous partiality seems highly probable, and, had his character been marked by the ambition of Leicester, or the rashness of Essex, the ground of his

good fortune would perhaps have been not less evident than theirs.

He descended from a junior line of the very ancient house of Hatton of Hatton in Cheshire, which migrated into Northamptonshire, and was the third and youngest son of William Hatton, of Holdenby, by Alice, daughter of Laurence Saunders, of Horringworth, both in that county. He was born in 1539, or in the succeeding year, and, after having been carefully instructed in his father's house, was entered a gentleman commoner of St. Mary Hall, in Oxford, where he probably remained not long, as he quitted the university without having taken a degree, and enrolled himself in the society of the Inner Temple. It has been said that he was placed there not to study the law with a view of qualifying himself for the profession, but to give him the advantages of a familiar intercourse with men who joined to deep learning an extensive knowledge of the world, and of the arts of social prudence. This report was probably invented for the sake of increasing the wonder excited by his final promotion; though thus much is certain, that we hear nothing of his practice in any of the courts, nor indeed have we any direct intelligence that he was ever called to the bar. It is amply recorded however that he joined at least in the sports of his fellow students, for it was at one of those romantic entertainments which at that time the Inns of Court frequently presented to royalty, that he first attracted the notice of the Queen. "Sir Christopher Hatton," as Naunton somewhat obscurely says, "came into the court as Sir John Perrott's opposite; as Perrott was used to say, 'by the galliard,' for he came thither as a private gentleman of the Inns of Court, in a masque; and, for his activity and person, which was tall and proportionable, taken into her favour." Honest Camden, with more plainness, tells us that, "being young, and of a comely tallness of body, and amiable countenance, he got into such favour with the Queen," &c.

He was presently admitted into her band of gentlemen pensioners, at that time composed of fifty young men of the best

families in the kingdom, and was soon after placed among the gentlemen of her privy chamber; then appointed captain of her body guard, and vice-chamberlain of her household, about the time of his promotion to which latter office he was knighted, and sworn of the privy council. In 1586 Elizabeth granted to him and his heirs the Island of Purbeck, in Dorsetshire, and in the same year named him as one of her commissioners for the trial, or rather for the conviction, of the Queen of Scots. It is said that Mary was persuaded chiefly by his reasoning to submit to their jurisdiction, and Camden has preserved the speech which for that purpose he addressed to her, and which exhibits little either of eloquence or argument. "You are accused," he said, "but not condemned, to have conspired the destruction of our lady and Queen anointed. You say you are a Queen: be it so; however in such a crime as this the royal dignity itself is not exempted from answering, either by the civil or canon law, nor by the law of nations nor of nature; for if such kind of offences might be committed without punishment, all justice would stagger, yea fall to the ground. If you be innocent, you wrong your reputation in avoiding trial. You protest yourself to be innocent, but Queen Elizabeth thinketh otherwise, and that not without ground, and is heartily sorry for the same. To examine therefore your innocency, she hath appointed commissioners, honourable persons, prudent and upright men, who are ready to hear you according to equity, with favour, and will rejoice with all their hearts if you shall clear yourself of what you are charged with. Believe me, the Queen herself will be transported with joy, who affirmed to me, at my coming from her, that never anything befel her that troubled her more than that you should be charged with such misdemeanours. Wherefore lay aside the bootless claim of privilege from your royal dignity, which now can be of no use unto you; appear to your trial, and shew your innocency; lest by avoiding trial you draw upon yourself a suspicion, and stain your reputation with an eternal blot and aspersion."

On the twenty-third of April, 1587, to the astonishment of the

country, he was appointed Lord High Chancellor, unluckily succeeding in that great office Bromley, a lawyer of the highest fame; and on the twenty-third of May, in the succeeding year, as though to crown properly the heterogeneous graces which had been already bestowed on him, was installed a Knight of the Garter. Camden, the only writer who has affected to account for his appointment to the Great Seal, informs us, rather improbably, that "he was advanced to it by the Court arts of some, that by his absence from Court, and the troublesome discharge of so great a place, which they thought him not to be able to undergo, his favour with the Queen might flag and grow less." He was received, naturally enough, in the Chancery Court with cold and silent disdain, and it is even said that the barristers for a time declined to plead before him; but the sweetness of his temper, and the general urbanity of his manners, soon overcame those difficulties, while the earnestness and honesty with which he evidently applied the whole force of a powerful mind to qualify himself for his high office, gradually attracted to him the esteem of the public. "He executed," says the historian just now quoted, "the place with the greatest state and splendour of any that we ever saw, and what he wanted in knowledge of the law he laboured to make good by equity and justice." He is said to have introduced several good rules into the practice of his court, and to have at length acquired, by the wisdom of his decrees, and by the moderation, impartiality, and independence, of his conduct on the bench, an eminent share of popularity. Anthony Wood asserts that he composed several pieces on legal subjects, none of which however are extant, except one, which has been plausibly attributed to him, entituled "a treatise concerning Statutes, or Acts of Parliament, and the Exposition thereof," which was not printed till 1677.

Sir Robert Naunton, again with some obscurity, thus concludes the very short notices which he has left us of Hatton. "He was a gentleman that, besides the graces of his person and dancing, had also the adjectaments of a strong and subtle capacity: one that

could soon learn the discipline and garb both of the times and court. The truth is he had a large proportion of gifts and endowments, but too much of the season of envy, and he was a mere vegetable of the court, that sprung up at night, and sunk again at his noon." Does Naunton mean that Hatton was envious, or that he was the object of envy in others?

With relation to one, of the character of whose mind, and of the extent of whose talents and accomplishments so little has been handed down to us, it is fortunate to be able to form some opinion from the familiar effusions of his own pen. In the great treasure of epistolary remains of the eminent men of his time, Hatton's letters are of rarest occurrence. No apology then will be necessary for illustrating this unavoidably imperfect sketch with two of them; the one, without date, to Elizabeth, from a rough draft in the Harleian MSS., and hitherto unpublished; the other, now reprinted from the Cecil Papers, to the gallant and unfortunate Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex. The first is indorsed —"S^r. Ch^r. Hatton, Vicechamberlaine to the Queene, upon some words of the Queene, his protestacion of his owne innocence."

"If the woundes of the thought wear not most dangerous of all w^thout speedy dressing I shold not now troble yo^r. Ma^ty. w^th. the lynes of my co'playnt; and if whatsoever came from you wear not ether very gracious or greevous to me what you sayd wold not synke so deepely in my bosome. My profession hath been, is, and ever shalbe, to your Ma^ty. all duty w^thin order, all reverent love w^thout mesure, & all trothe w^thout blame; insomuch as when I shall not be fownde soche as to yo^r. Highness Cæsar sought to have hys wife to himselfe, not onely w^thout synne, but also not to be suspected, I wish my spright devyded from my body as his spowse was from his bedde; and therfore, upon yesternight's wordes, I am driven to say to yo^r. Ma^ty. ether to satisfye wronge conceyts, or to answer false reports, that if the speech you used of yo^r. Turke did ever passe my penne or lippes to any creature owt of yo^r. Highnes' hearing, but to my L. of Burghley, w^th. whom

I have talked bothe of the man & the matter, I desyre no lesse condemnation than as a traytor, & no more pardon than hys ponyshment; and, further, if ever I ether spake or sent to the embassad. of France, Spayne, or Scotland, or have accompanied, to my knowledge, any that conferres wth. them, I doe renownce all good from yo^{r}. Ma^{ty}. in erthe, & all grace from God in heaven; w^{ch}. assurans if yo^{r}. H. thinke not sufficyent, upon the knees of my harte I hu'bly crave at yo^{r}. Ma$^{ty's}$. handes, not so much for my satisfaction as yo^{r} own suerty, make the perfitest triall heareof; for if upon soch occasions it shall please yo^{r}. Ma^{ty}. to syfte the chaffe from the wheate, the corne of yo^{r}. co'monwealth wolde be more pure, & myxt graines wolde lesse infect the synnowes of yo^{r}. suerty, w^{ch}. God most strengthen, to yo^{r}. Ma$^{ty's}$. best & longest preservation."

His letter to Essex, then commanding the English troops at the siege of Rouen, in which his brother, Walter, had lately fallen, forms a striking contrast to the bombastic piece which, in conformity to her own taste, he addressed to the Queen, and may perhaps be justly considered as an example of the best epistolary composition of the time.

"My very good Lord,

"Next after my thankes for yo^{r}. honorable l^{res}., I will assure yo^{r}. Lo^{p}. that, for my part, I have not failed to use the best endeavors I cold for the effecting of yo^{r}. desire in remaininge ther for some longer tyme, but wthall I must advertise you that her Ma^{ty}. hath been drawen therunto wth. exceeding hardenes, & the chefe reason that maketh her sticke in it is for that she doubteth yo^{r}. Lo^{p}. doth not sufficiently consider the dishonor that ariseth unto her by the King's ether dalliance or want of regard, having not used the forces sent so friendly to his aid from so great a Prince, and under the conduct of so great a personage, in some employment of more importance all this while: wherefore, by her Ma$^{ty's}$. co'mandement, and also for the unfaigned good wyll I bear yo^{r}. L^{p}., I am very earnestly to advise you that you have gret care

for the accomplishement of her Highnes' instrucc'ons effectually, and according to her intenc'ons, in those thinges wherin you are to deale w^th^. the Kinge."

"Further my good Lord, lett me be bolde to warne you of a matter that many of yo^r^. frendes here gretely feare, namely, that the late accident of yo^r^. noble brother, who hathe so valiantly & honorably spent his lyfe in his Prince's & countrey's service, draw you not, through griefe or passion, to hasard yo^r^selfe over venturously. Yo^r^. Lo^p^. best knoweth that true valour consisteth rather in constant performinge of that w^ch^. hathe been advisedly forethought than in an aptnes or readines of thrusting yo^r^. p'son indifferently into every daunger. You have many waies, & many tymes, made sufficient proof of yo^r^. valientnes: No man doubteth but that you have enough, if you have not overmuche: and therfore, both in regard of the services her Ma^ty^. expecteth to receve from you, and in respect of the greife that would growe to the whole realme by the losse of one of that honorable birth, & that worthe w^ch^. is sufficiently knowen (as greater hathe not beene for any that hathe beene borne therin these many & many yeeres) I must, even before Almighty God, praye & require yo^r^. Lo^p^. to have that circumspectnes of yo^r^selfe w^ch^. is fitt for a generall of yo^r^. sorte. Lastly my Lo., I hope you doubt not of the good disposic'ons I bear towards yo^r^. Lo^p^., nor that out of the same ther ariseth & remaineth in me a desire to doe yo^r^. Lo^p^. all the service that shalbe in my pore abilitie to p^r^forme, & therfore I shall not neede to spende many wordes in that behalf; but, w^th^. my earnest prayers for yo^r^. good succes in all yo^r^. honorable actions, &, after, for yo^r^. safe returne, to the comfort of yo^r^. frendes & wellwillers here, I leave yo^r^. Lo^p^. to God's most holy and m'cifull protecc'on. From London, the 5^th^ of October, 1591.

"Yo^r^. good L^p's^ most assured and true frende,

"Chr. Hatton."

The faithful historian, already so frequently quoted, records that "he was a man of a pious nature, and of opinion that in matters of religion neither fire nor sword was to be used; a great

reliever of the poor; and of singular bounty and munificence to students and learned men, for which reason those of Oxford chose him Chancellor of their University." He succeeded the favourite Leicester in that dignified office in September, 1588. He is said in his earlier days to have sacrificed occasionally to the muse, of which however no proof is extant, except in the tragedy of Tancred and Ghismunda, which was the joint production of five students of the Inner Temple; was acted by some members of that society before the Queen in 1568; and printed in 1592. To the fourth act is subscribed "Composuit Chr. Hatton."

His death, which happened on the twentieth of November, 1591, has been ascribed in great measure to the harshness and suddenness with which Elizabeth demanded the instant payment of a great sum in his hands, arising from the collection of first fruits and tenths. "He had hopes," says Camden, "in regard of the favour he was in with her, she would have forgiven him; but she could not, having once cast him down with a harsh word, raise him up again, though she visited him, and endeavoured to comfort him." He was buried in St. Paul's Cathedral, and, having died a bachelor, bequeathed his fortune to his nephew, Sir William Newport of Harringham, in Warwickshire, with remainder to Christopher, son and heir of John Hatton, his nearest kinsman of the male line. Sir William Newport, who assumed the surname of Hatton, died childless, and Christopher succeeded accordingly; his son and heir, of the same name, was created in 1643 Baron Hatton, of Kirby, in Northamptonshire: and the heir male of that son in 1682 obtained the title of Viscount; both which became extinct about 1770.

Engraved by J. Cochran.

CARDINAL ALLEN.

OB 1594.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE POSSESSION OF

BROWNE MOSTYN ESQRE

London. Published Decr 1. 1836. by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

WILLIAM ALLEN.

WILLIAM ALLEN,

CARDINAL.

The face and the character of this remarkable person have hitherto been almost equally unknown. While he lived, and for several years after his death, to have possessed his portrait might have been deemed misprision of treason, and to have spoken favourably even of the slightest act of his life would certainly have been considered as a high misdemeanour. He was perhaps the most formidable enemy to the reformed faith, and the ablest apologist for the Romish church, that England ever produced, for he was armed at all points, either for attack or defence, and indefatigable in the prosecution of each. He was generally learned, but in sacred and ecclesiastical history profoundly; and while he reasoned with equal acuteness, boldness, and eloquence, used that urbanity of expression, so uncommon in the polemics of his time, which polishes, while it sharpens, the weapons of argument, and disarms an adversary, at least of personal enmity. He exercised in fact, though without the name, the office of vicegerent to the Pope for the affairs of his church in England; and in that character opposed, with a most honest zeal, the progress of a system which the most part of Europe then considered as a frightful schism, and which was at that time indebted for its support perhaps more to the vigilance and severity of Elizabeth's government than to the affection of its professors. But that system had already become firmly interwoven with the civil polity of England, and the most dangerous enemy to a state is he

who would wound it through the shield of its religious establishment. Elizabeth, therefore, would have acted but with strict justice had she put Cardinal Allen to death, as she certainly would, could she have got him into her power; and he would have been, as justly, canonized.

He descended from two respectable, and rather ancient, families, for he was the second son of John Allen, the elder line of whose house had been long seated at Brockhouse, in Staffordshire, by Jennet, daughter of a Lyster, of Westby in Yorkshire. He was born at Rossall, in the latter county, about the year 1532, and became a student of Oriel College in 1547, where he was so distinguished for his talents, and for the rapidity and success of his studies, that he was within three years afterwards unanimously elected a fellow of that house; and before he had reached the age of twenty-five, was chosen Principal of St. Mary's Hall, and one of the Proctors of the University. About 1558, he was appointed a Canon of York, but was scarcely fixed there when the death of Queen Mary blasted all his hopes of further preferment in his own country. He continued, however, in England till 1560, when he retired to Louvain, and fixed his residence for a time in the famous theological college there, which, since the accession of Elizabeth, had become the favourite place of refuge for those of the English Catholic divines who had the highest reputation for learning and zeal. But the passive devotions of a mere pious asylum were ill suited to the disposition of one who seemed to exist but for the service of his church: he returned, under the pretence of seeking relief in his native air from a lingering illness, and settled in Lancashire, where his endeavours to reclaim the wanderers from his profession became soon so notorious that the magistrates chased him from that county. He went then into Oxfordshire, where he not only followed the same course, but published treatises in the English language, which he had printed at Louvain,—"In Defence of the lawful Power and Authority of the Priesthood to remit sins;" "Of the Confession of Sins to God's Ministers;" and a third,

intituled, "The Church's Meaning concerning Indulgences, commonly called Popes' Pardons." Such a visitor could not long be permitted to remain near the University. He removed, doubtless under compulsion, into the neighbourhood of Norwich, where he dwelt chiefly in the house of the Duke of Norfolk, and, having composed there a strenuous defence of his church, under the title of "Certain brief Reasons concerning Catholic Faith," returned once more to Oxford, and boldly took up his residence there. His attempts, though with unabated zeal, were now more secretly practised. He ceased to publish his opinions, and contented himself with endeavouring to gain individual proselytes by the acuteness of his arguments, and the charms of his conversation. An experiment of that kind, in which he had fully succeeded, drew down on him the vehement resentment of the relations of his convert, who happened to be zealous reformers. They prosecuted him with the utmost vengeance; he found means to escape from the consequences; and quitted England, never again to return.

He fled to Flanders, and, after having resided for some time in a monastery in the city of Mechlin, removed about 1568 to Douay, where an academy had been some years before established, which had acquired considerable reputation. On that foundation he raised the college which after many vicissitudes yet subsisted there in much fame at the commencement of the accursed French revolution, when its peaceful inmates were dispersed, and it became first a military hospital, and, since, a manufactory. To this seminary, which was declaredly devoted to the reception of learned English Romanists who had fled their country for religion's sake, he gave a regular collegiate form, and procured from the Pope a yearly stipend for its maintenance. He was now appointed a Canon of the archiepiscopal church of Cambray, and, soon after, of that of Rheims, in France, where he prevailed on the great family of Guise to erect another college for the same purpose, to which he removed the members of his house at Douay, during the distraction which for a time agitated the

Netherlands. He commenced also a similar foundation at Rome, and two in Spain. All these were devoted to the education of English youth, and every sort of learning was cultivated in them to the utmost perfection of the time; but the grand and secret object of the teachers was to instruct their pupils in the religious and civil doctrines of the church of Rome; to inspire them with the most zealous and implicit veneration towards all its institutions; and so to qualify them to become, when they should return to their own country, the most effectual of all missionaries.

In spite of the personal application and activity which these objects necessarily required, it should seem that his pen too was almost incessantly employed, as well in a continual correspondence with his friends and abettors in England, as in the composition of multifarious publications which he disseminated throughout Europe with the utmost industry. Elizabeth, who held her brother Sovereigns and their councils in contempt, was awed by the talents, the perseverance, and, perhaps most of all, by the sincerity of this man. He fought against her, or, in other words, against that system of faith of which she was then the life and soul, as well in the field as in the closet; for while he opposed himself, with exquisite power of argument, to her most eminent divines, and used the sweetest persuasion to those whom he hoped to convert, the catholic soldiers and mariners of England, as well as those of Spain, went into battle with treatises in their hands which he had written for their use, and adapted to their capacities. Thus he prevailed on Sir William Stanley, and Rowland York, who commanded a body of thirteen hundred men in the Low Countries, to surrender to the Spaniards, in 1587, the strong fortress of Deventer, and other places, with their garrisons; and, immediately after, printed a letter, intituled, "Epistola de Deventriæ Ditione," together with a translation into English, in which he highly commended their treachery, and incited others to imitate it. So too, in the following year, upon the sailing of the Spanish Armada, he published "A Declaration of the Sentence of Sixtus the Fifth," by which that Pope had given plenary

indulgence and pardon of all sins, to those who would assist in depriving Elizabeth of her kingdom; to which was added a supplement, most energetically conceived and written, with the title of "An Admonition to the Nobility and People of England." Elizabeth herself bore testimony to the weight and importance of this book by dispatching a minister to the Prince of Parma, Governor of the Low Countries for the King of Spain, specially to expostulate with him on the publication of it.

For these eminent services to his church, he was at length, on the twenty-eighth of July, 1587, created a Cardinal Priest, and in 1589, consecrated Archbishop of Mechlin, to which latter dignity the King of Spain added the gift of a rich abbey in Naples. The utter failure of the great Spanish naval expedition, on which the Roman Catholics had founded such mighty hopes, seems to have broken his spirit. He retired to Rome immediately after that event, "under a great disappointment," says Camden, "and at length tired out with the heats and dissensions of the English fugitives, both scholars and gentlemen." That historian, zealous as he was for the reformed faith, and writing under the influence almost naturally produced by his servitude to Elizabeth, speaks of Allen with less asperity than might have been expected; while Anthony Wood, more independent, though perhaps not unjustly suspected of some leaning to the Romish church, having very fairly stated the invectives of several authors against him, adds—"Let writers say what they please, certain it is that he was an active man, and of great parts, and high prudence: that he was religious, and zealous in his profession: restless till he had performed what he had undertaken: that he was very affable, genteel, and winning, and that his person was handsome and proper; which, with an innate gravity, commanded respect from those that came near, or had to do with him." His taste in literary composition was admirable. Of his Latin little need be said. The age in which he lived was ornamented by many distinguished writers in that language, and it would have been strange indeed had not such a man appeared

in the foremost rank: but his English style was incomparable. At once dignified and simple; clear and concise; choice in terms, without the slightest affectation; and full of an impassioned liveliness, which riveted the attention even to his gravest disquisitions; it stood then wholly unrivalled, and would even now furnish no unworthy model. Such however is the weakness, and it is almost blameless, of human prejudice, that the merits of the writer were condemned to share in the abomination of his doctrines, and that an example, which might have anticipated the gradual progress of nearly a century in the improvement of English prose, was rejected because he who set it was a rebel and a Papist.

Cardinal Allen wrote, in addition to the works already mentioned, "A Defence of the Doctrine of Catholics concerning Purgatory, 1565;" "An Apology, and true Declaration, of the Institution and Endeavours of the two English Colleges, in Rome and at Rheims, 1581;" "Apologia pro Sacerdotibus Societatis Jesu, et Seminariorum Alumnis, contra Edicta Regiæ," which I have never seen, and of which the book mentioned before it was probably a translation; "Concertatio Ecclesiæ Catholicæ;" and "Piissima Admonitio et Consolatio verè Christiana ad Afflictos Catholicos Angliæ;" the three last named tracts printed in one volume, 1583; and "A true, sincere, and modest Defence of the English Catholics that suffer for their Faith both at home and abroad, against a scandalous Libel intituled, the Execution of Justice in England," without date, of which a translation into Latin was published in 1584.

This very eminent person died at Rome on the 6th of October 1594, and was buried in the chapel of the English College there.

Engraved by J. Cochran

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE.

OB. 1596.

FROM THE ORIGINAL, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF LOTHIAN.

London Published Dec.r 1.1836 by Harding & Lepard Pall Mall East

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE.

The narrative of a life for the materials of which no better source could exist than the journal and log-book of a naval commander, and in the absence, too, of those very authorities, may seem to promise very little of general interest. Drake was a seaman from his cradle, and applied to his profession talents which might have rendered him eminent in any character, with such undeviating perseverance, that we never find him for an instant in another: yet so dear is that character to Englishmen, that they will dwell with delight on the insulated detail of his expeditions; on discoveries insignificant in the sight of modern navigators, and on tactics which have become obsolete; on motives which have long ceased to actuate our national policy, and on results of the benefit of which we are no longer sensible.

His birth, as might be expected, was mean. In a pedigree of the descendants of his brother Thomas, the inheritor of his wealth, recorded in the Visitation of Devonshire made in 1620, he is simply stated to have been a son of "Robert Drake of that county," and the name even of his mother does not appear. Camden, however, has left us some particulars of his origin, which, in spite of an anachronism or two, that have not escaped the vigilance of antiquarian zeal, may be depended on, especially as he informs us that they were communicated to him by Drake himself. His father, as we learn from this respectable authority, had embraced the Protestant persuasion, and having been threatened with prosecution under the terrible law of the Six Articles, fled his

country and wandered into Kent. "There,' continues Camden, "after the death of Henry the eighth, he got a place among the seamen in the King's navy, to read prayers to them, and soon after he was ordained deacon, and made vicar of the church of Upnor, upon the river Medway, where the royal navy usually rides: but by reason of his poverty, he put his son apprentice to the master of a bark, his neighbour, who held him closely to his business, by which he made him an able seaman, his bark being employed in coasting along the shore, and sometimes in carrying merchandise into Zealand and France. The youth, being painful and diligent, so pleased the old man by his industry, that, being a bachelor, at his death he bequeathed his bark unto him by his last will." It is said, but with some uncertainty, that he was born in the town of Tavistock, in 1545.

In his early manhood he became purser of a merchant ship trading to Spain, and two years after made a voyage to Guinea, probably in the same capacity. About this time he attracted the notice of his countryman, and, as some have reported, his kinsman, Sir John Hawkins, and was in 1567 appointed by that celebrated navigator captain of a ship named the Judith, in which he accompanied Hawkins to South America, and eminently distinguished himself in the more glorious than fortunate exploits in the Gulf of Mexico, which were the issue of that expedition. Drake lost in it the whole of that little which he had saved in his more humble employments, but he returned with a reputation which presently attracted public attention, and with a knowledge of the wealth and an experience of the naval warfare and resources of Spain in those parts, which enabled him to form the most promising plans for his future prosperity. He determined to invite the resolute, the needy, and the avaricious, to join him in an expedition thither, and represented to them, with a power of persuasion with which he is said to have been eminently gifted, the vast acquisitions that might be expected, and the clear probability of success. The bait was taken with an eagerness at least equal to his hopes, and in 1570, and the following year, he

made two voyages, the former with two ships, the latter with one; and in these trips, though his private view in undertaking them extended not beyond mere experiment, which he could not have prosecuted without assistance, he managed with such sagacity as to encourage those who had adventured with him by an ample return; to render himself independent; and to prevent in a great measure any suspicion in the Spaniards of the extent of the designs which he secretly meditated against them.

In 1573, however, they were somewhat disclosed. On the twenty-fourth of March in that year, he sailed from Plymouth, in a ship named the Pascha, accompanied by another in which he had performed his two former voyages, called the Swan, in which he placed one of his brothers, John Drake. On board these vessels, which were of very moderate burthen, he had no more than seventy-three men and boys; yet with this slender force he stormed, on the twenty-second of the following July, the town of Nombre de Dios, in the Isthmus of Darien, and soon after seized that of Venta Cruz, where he obtained a considerable booty; but the most important result of these acquisitions was the establishment of a friendly intercourse with some rulers of the natives, by the aid of whose intelligence he intercepted a convoy of plate, as it was the custom then to call it, of such enormous bulk that he abandoned the silver from mere inability to convey it, and brought only the gold to his ships. It is needless to say that he returned with immense wealth; and the fidelity and exactness with which he allotted to his partners their respective shares in his good fortune, contributed equally with it to raise his fame. The people, in the mean time, in their hatred to Spain, which Elizabeth used every artifice to chafe, viewed the success of his piracies, for they were nothing less, with rapture. Enriched himself, beyond all the occasions of even splendid domestic life, he now gave way to a laudable ambition to shine in public service, and to recommend himself effectually to a court and government in which much of the ancient love of warlike gallantry yet subsisted, fitted out, at his own charge, three frigates with which he

sailed to Ireland, to serve as a volunteer against the rebels, in aid of the land forces under the command of Walter, Earl of Essex. Stowe, without reciting the particulars of his conduct, informs us that he performed many glorious actions there. His stay, however, in Ireland was short, and on the premature death of that nobleman he returned; but the secret object of his excursion was fully obtained, for he acquired, probably through the recommendation of the amiable Essex, the patronage of Sir Christopher Hatton, by whom he was soon after introduced to Elizabeth.

Drake, in his last American voyage, had formed an imperfect outline of the enterprise which has immortalized his name. "He had descried," says Camden, "from some mountains the South Sea. Hereupon," continues the historian, "the man being inflamed with ambition of glory, and hopes of wealth, was so vehemently transported with desire to navigate that sea, that, falling down upon his knees, he implored the Divine assistance that he might at some time or other sail thither, and make a perfect discovery of the same; and hereunto he bound himself with a vow. From that time forward his mind was pricked continually to perform that vow." He now besought and obtained the aid and countenance of the Queen to his project for a voyage thither, through the Straits of Magellan, an undertaking to which no Englishman had ever yet aspired. On the fifteenth of November, 1577, he sailed from Plymouth in a ship of one hundred tons, called the Pelican, having under his command the Elizabeth, of eighty tons; the Swan, of fifty; the Marygold, of thirty; and the Christopher, of fifteen; embarking in his little fleet no more than one hundred and sixty four men, amply supplied, however, with all necessary provisions. He concealed from his comrades of all ranks the course that he intended to take, giving out that it was for Alexandria; and after having been forced by a severe storm to return to the English coast to refit, quitted it finally on the thirteenth of December.

Drake's celebrated voyage is so well known, that it would be

impertinent to give here any enlarged detail of it. On the twentieth of August, having previously dismissed, for what reason we are not clearly told, two of the vessels which had accompanied him, he entered the Straits of Magellan, where a terrible storm separated him from the others, and he proceeded alone. On the twenty-fifth of September he quitted the Straits, and sailed, still molested by tempest, to the coast of Chili and Peru, which he skirted, attacking the Spanish settlements, which were wholly defenceless, and, having obtained immense spoil, prepared to return to England. Apprehensive, however, of the vengeance of the Spaniards, among whom the alarm was now fully spread, he determined to avoid the track by which he had entered the Pacific Ocean, and bent his course to the shores of North America, seeking, with that spirit of enterprise which so eminently distinguished him, a passage to Europe by the north of California. Disappointed in this endeavour, he sailed to the East Indies, and, returning to England by the Cape of Good Hope, landed at Plymouth on the third of November, 1580, the first of his countrymen by whom the honour of circumnavigating the whole of the known world had ever been enjoyed.

His arrival in London was hailed by the multitude with the utmost extravagance of approbation, but among the cool and discerning many were disposed to censure his conduct with severity. The policy, as well as the legality, of conniving at the sort of warfare which he had used against the Spaniards was freely questioned. His moral character was arraigned ; and he was reported to have sacrificed to the private vengeance of the Earl of Leicester one of his principal officers, Doughty, whom he had charged with mutiny, and caused to be put to death during his voyage. In the mean time he was not without apologists of the better sort, who alleged that his attacks on the Spanish colonies were clearly justifiable under the laws of reprisal, and that Doughty, which seems to have been the fact, was regularly tried and condemned by such a Court Martial as could be formed under the circumstances of the expedition. While these questions

were contending with increasing heat, Elizabeth suddenly turned the balance in his favour, by the most unequivocal and public marks of her grace. She visited him on board his ship at Deptford; partook of a splendid banquet which he had provided; and conferred on him the honour of knighthood, commanding, among many other compliments of the most flattering nature, that the vessel in which he had achieved the voyage should be carefully preserved, as a precious memorial of his merit, and of the glory of her realm.

These testimonies of approbation produced in Drake their usual effect on generous and active minds, an ardent desire to signalize himself by further exploits. The rank, however, to which his fame and his immense wealth had now raised him in society, forbade the further prosecution of that order of enterprise from which he had derived them, and some years elapsed before Elizabeth's determination to commence offensive hostilities against Spain, enabled her to call his powers into action in her immediate service. At length, in 1585, he received for the first time a royal commission, and was appointed to the command of twenty-one ships of war, with which, having on board eleven thousand soldiers, he sailed in the autumn to the West Indies, and, after having sacked the towns of St. Jago and St. Domingo, passed to the coast of Florida, when he took Carthagena, and destroyed several other settlements of smaller importance. In 1587 he was despatched with four of the largest ships in the Queen's navy, to which the merchants of London added twenty-six vessels of various burthens, to Spain, and in the Bay of Cadiz dispersed and crippled a fleet which lay there, completely equipped, under orders to proceed to Lisbon, the appointed rendezvous for the grand Armada, destroying more than a hundred of their store-ships, and several superior vessels. He then returned to Cape St. Vincent, ravaging the coast in his way, and at the mouth of the Tagus ineffectually challenged the Marquis of Santa Cruz, the Spanish Admiral, to an engagement. Having performed this splendid service, which obliged Philip to defer for a whole year

the execution of his great project of invasion, Drake turned his attention for an interval to his old friends the merchants, and, using a discretion not uncommon in those days of imperfect discipline, sailed to the Azores, to intercept a carrack of immense value, of whose coming from the East Indies he had received secret intelligence, which he accomplished, and returned to his country to receive new honours from his Sovereign, and increased homage from her subjects. In the ever memorable service of the following year, Drake, whom Elizabeth had appointed Vice-Admiral under Lord Howard of Effingham, had the chief share. His sagacity, his activity, and his undaunted courage, were equally conspicuous in the series of mighty actions which composed it, and the terrible vengeance experienced by the dispersed and flying Armada was inflicted principally by his division of the fleet. Don Pedro de Valdes, a Spanish Admiral, by whom the enterprise had been planned, deemed it an honour to have surrendered to him, and was long entertained by him with a generous hospitality, which proved that Drake was as well versed in the chivalrous courtesies as in the essentials of war. In his success in this glorious victory terminated the unmixed felicity which had hitherto invariably attended him.

The year 1589 was distinguished by the ill-concerted and mismanaged attempt to place Don Antonio on the throne of Portugal. In the expedition destined to that service the fleet was commanded by Sir Francis Drake, and the military, amounting to eleven thousand, by Sir John Norris. Drake had never before in any of his enterprises had a partner, and the main features of his character were such as might be expected to disqualify him for any division of authority. The commanders disagreed in the outset. Drake proposed to sail directly to Lisbon, but Norris insisted that the troops should be landed at Corunna, which the Admiral not only conceded, but promised to conduct the fleet immediately after up the Tagus to the capital. Unforeseen obstacles prevented his keeping his word; Norris loaded him with reproaches; and attributed the utter failure of

the plan, which in fact arose from various causes, to Drake's absence. The Admiral was obliged to explain and justify his conduct to the Queen and Council, and was acquitted of all cause of blame, but his high spirit had been wounded by the mere inquiry, and he sought to console it by new views of conquest.

Some years passed, though the war with Spain still subsisted, before an opportunity presented itself. At length he prevailed on Elizabeth once more to send a powerful armament to Spanish America, under the direction of himself, and his old friend and original patron, Sir John Hawkins, and in a great measure at their private expense, the Queen, however, furnishing some of her stoutest ships. The fleet, consisting of twenty-seven vessels, which had been long detained by Spanish rumours, raised for the purpose of a new plan of invasion, sailed from Plymouth on the twenty-eighth of August, 1595. The plan of the expedition was to destroy Nombre de Dios, the scene of one of Drake's early and most gallant exploits, and then to march the troops, of which two thousand five hundred were embarked, to Panama, to seize the treasure supposed to have lately arrived there from Peru. When they were on the point of departure, Elizabeth apprised them that the plate fleet had arrived in Spain, with the exception of one rich galleon, which had returned to Porto Rico for some necessary repairs, and which she advised them in the first place to secure. They left England differing in opinion on this question, Hawkins anxious to follow without delay the Queen's direction, and Drake earnest to commence their operations by a descent on the island of Teneriffe, which was accordingly made, and proved wholly unsuccessful. They then sailed to Dominica, and in the interval the Spaniards, who had been apprised of the main purposes of the voyage, despatched a strong convoy for the galleon, which they brought off in safety, and so powerfully reinforced Porto Rico, that the English, on their arrival there, were obliged to content themselves with ravaging to little purpose the craft in the harbour, and to retire without having made any impression

on the town, nor was their attack on Panama, which was made about Christmas Day, more fortunate. Hawkins, died, as is said, of a broken heart, amidst these reverses, and Drake barely survived them. A settled melancholy, attended by a slow fever, and terminating in a dysentery, the common disease of the country, carried him off on the twenty-eighth of January, 1595, O. S. in the fifty-first, or, according to some, in the fifty-fifth, year of his age.

Little has been said here of the natural character of this eminent person, and some circumstances of his life have been hitherto purposely omitted, for the sake of concluding this sketch with the very words of a writer of the fair sex, who has laid before us, in a late publication of singular merit, the fruits of most laborious and accurate historical research, clothed in the light and easy garb of refined table-talk. "The character of Sir Francis Drake," says this lady, "was remarkable not alone for those constitutional qualities of valour, industry, capacity, and enterprise, which the history of his exploits would necessarily lead us to infer; but for virtues founded on principle and reflection, which, render it in a high degree the object of respect and moral approbation. It is true that his aggressions on the Spanish settlements were originally founded on a vague notion of reprisals, equally irreconcilable to public law and private equity; but with the exception of this error, which may find considerable palliation in the deficient education of the man, the prevalent opinions of the day, and the peculiar animosity against Philip the Second cherished in the bosom of every protestant Englishman, the conduct of Drake appears to demand almost unqualified commendation. It was by sobriety, by diligence in the concern of his employers, and by a tried integrity, that he early raised himself from the humble station of an ordinary seaman to the command of a vessel. When placed in authority over others, he showed himself humane and considerate. His treatment of his prisoners was exemplary; his veracity unimpeached; his private life religiously pure and spotless. In the division of the rich booty which frequently rewarded his valour and his toils, he was liberal towards his crews, and scrupulously just to the owners of his vessels; and in

the appropriation of his own share of wealth, he displayed that munificence towards the public, of which, since the days of Roman glory history has recorded so few examples. With the profits of one of his earliest voyages, in which he captured the town of Venta Cruz, and made prize of a string of mules laden with silver, he fitted out three stout frigates, and sailed with them to Ireland, where he served as a volunteer under Walter Earl of Essex, and performed many brilliant actions. After the capture of a rich Spanish carrack at the Terceras in 1587, he undertook at his own expense to bring to the town of Plymouth, which he represented in Parliament, a supply of spring water, of which necessary article it suffered a great deficiency. This he accomplished by means of a canal or aqueduct, above twenty miles in length. Drake incurred some blame in the expedition to Portugal for failing to bring his ships up the river to Lisbon, according to his promise to Sir John Norris, the General ; but on explaining the case before the Privy Council on his return, he was entirely acquitted by them ; having made it appear that under all the circumstances, to have carried the ships up the Tagus would have been to expose them to damage, without any benefit to the service. By his enemies this great man was stigmatised as vain and boastful —a slight infirmity in one who had achieved so much by his own unassisted genius, and which the great flow of natural eloquence which he possessed may at once have produced and rendered excusable."

It has been erroneously asserted that Sir Francis Drake died a bachelor. He married, probably in his middle age, Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Sir George Sydenham, of Combe Sydenham, in Devonshire, who survived him, and re-married to William Courtenay, of Powderham Castle, in the same county. He left however no issue, and his brother Thomas became his heir, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Francis, who was created a Baronet in 1622, and is at present represented by his lineal descendant, Sir Francis Henry Drake, of Buckland Monachorum, in the county of Devon.

Engraved by H.T Ryall.

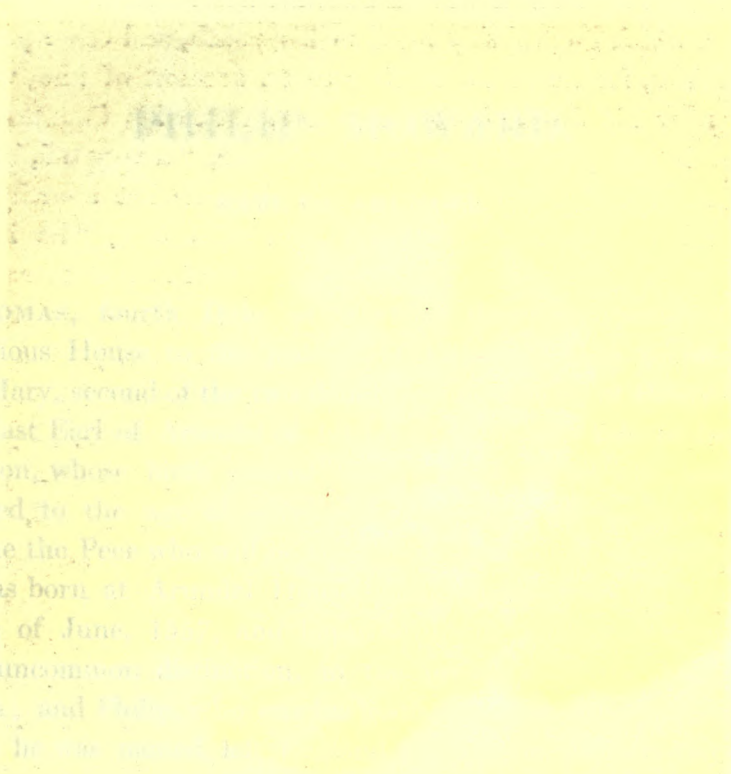
PHILIP HOWARD, EARL OF ARUNDEL.

OB. 1595.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF ZUCCHERO, IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NORFOLK.

London, Published Dec.r 1.1836, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall



PHILIP HOWARD,

EARL OF ARUNDEL.

THOMAS, fourth Duke of Norfolk, the first victim of his illustrious House to the jealousy of Elizabeth, took to his first wife Mary, second of the two daughters and coheirs of Henry Fitzalan, last Earl of Arundel of his family. By this lady he had an only son, whose birth proved fatal to his mother, who had not attained to the age of seventeen; but the child survived, and became the Peer who will be the subject of the present memoir. He was born at Arundel House, in the Strand, on the twenty-eighth of June, 1557, and baptized in the Palace of Whitehall with uncommon distinction, in the presence of the King and Queen; and Philip, who was his godfather, and in compliment to whom he was named, left England for ever on the very day that the ceremony was performed. Notwithstanding this, and other royal flatteries, the Duke, his father, educated him in the protestant profession, which however he quitted at an early age for the religion of his ancestors, and from his sincerity in that mode of faith, and the patience and constancy with which he suffered the calamities which resulted from it, he seems to have fairly merited the title of martyr. The paternal dignities which he would have inherited having been swept away by his father's attainder, he assumed that of Earl of Arundel in right of his mother, the possession of the castle of Arundel (a rare instance in this country, where local honours are almost unknown,) having been solemnly adjudged in Parliament in the eleventh year of

Henry the Sixth to carry with it the Earldom. He was accordingly summoned among the Peers by that title in 1583, and in the same year restored in blood.

He possessed for a time a considerable share of Elizabeth's favour, which he probably owed to his youth, and other personal attractions, for he was, according to an account of him, written long after his death, by a domestic priest to his Countess, and which is still preserved at Norfolk House, "a very tall," or, as we should now say, stout, "man, and somewhat swarthy;" to which Dodd, in his Church History, adds that, "he had an agreeable mixture of sweetness and grandeur in his countenance." The Queen's partialities in this kind were in most cases nearly as fatal to their objects as her resentments, and so it proved in this instance. The Earl had been married at the age of fourteen to Anne, sister and coheir of Thomas, last Lord Dacre of Gillesland, of whom we shall presently give, as her memory well merits, some particulars. Elizabeth, says the manuscript lately quoted, "could not endure her, nor indeed the wife of any other to whom she shewed especial favour, and this distaste of the Queen's led the Earl to neglect his Lady, on which score his maternal grandfather, the old Earl of Arundel, and his aunt, the Lady Lumley, were so displeased that they alienated much of their property to others."

The Earl however was so captivated by the royal grace, that (to use again the words of the manuscript, from which I will observe, once for all, that such of the present memoir as is not of a public nature is chiefly extracted) "he made great feasts at Arundel House for the Ambassadors, Ministers, &c. on Coronation days, and other rejoicing days, and entertained the Queen, and all her Court, at Kenninghall and Norwich, for many days together." At one of these banquets, at Arundel House, Elizabeth herself had the profligate baseness to conceal herself, with Leicester, to overhear a conversation between the Earl and Sir Francis Walsingham and Lord Hundson, whom she had directed to tempt him into discourse on the subject of religion. It was

probably soon after this flagrant breach of hospitality that he became suspected of intriguing in favour of the Queen of Scots, and was placed in confinement in his own house, from which Elizabeth offered to release him if he would attend her to chapel, and hear the service of the Reformed Church, which he steadily refused. No matter, however, of specific accusation being yet ripe against him, he was set at liberty; but soon after again apprehended, and committed to the Tower, from whence also he was released for want of evidence against him. These repeated attacks, the jealousy of some great men, and, in particular, of Lord Hundson, who had been his father's page, and owed great obligations to his family; and the outrageous rigour with which the penal statutes against the Papists were then enforced, determined him to quit England, and he withdrew himself into Sussex; where, having been betrayed, as is said, by one of his servants, he was seized as he was about to embark on an obscure part of the coast, near his castle of Arundel, and again committed to the Tower. He was now prosecuted in the Star-Chamber, and condemned to a fine of ten thousand pounds, and imprisonment during the Queen's pleasure, merely on the charges, of entertaining Romish priests in his family; of corresponding with Cardinal Allen; and of meditating to leave the kingdom without the Queen's permission. In support of these accusations scarcely anything like proof was produced.

After four years' confinement, mostly so close as to prevent the possibility of new offence, he was arraigned of high treason, and on the fourteenth of April, 1589, brought to trial in Westminster Hall, where of the whole body of the Peerage only twenty-five appeared to sit in judgment on him. He comported himself with great dignity and firmness. "When called on," says Camden, "to hold up his hand, he raised it very high, saying 'here is as true a man's heart and hand as ever came into this hall.'" In addition to the points which had been alleged against him in the Star-Chamber, he was now accused of conspiring with Cardinal Allen to restore the Catholic faith in England; of having

suggested that the Queen was unfit to govern; and of ordering masses to be said for the success of the Spanish Armada: that he intended to have withdrawn himself out of the realm, to serve with the Duke of Parma against his native country; and that he had been privy to the measure of issuing the Bull of Pope Pius the fifth, for transferring Elizabeth's Crown to Philip of Spain.

History can scarcely produce another instance of so wretched and so wicked a perversion of judicial proceeding. Of the three witnesses produced against him, Sir Thomas Gerrard, a man of the name of Shelley, and Bennet, a priest, the two former had nothing to say, and the last, having previously declared by a letter to the Earl that his original false information to the Privy Council had been extorted from him by the rack, now spoke only as to the Mass said for the success of the Spanish expedition under the dread of a repetition of torture. To this parole testimony, if it deserve to be so called, was added the production of two emblematical paintings which had been found in the Earl's custody, the one representing a hand throwing a serpent into fire, with the motto "if God is for us who can be against us?" the other, a lion without claws, inscribed "yet still a lion;" and of some foreign letters in which he was styled "Duke of Norfolk." In the end no charge of high treason could be substantiated against him except on the ground of his having been reconciled to the Church of Rome, and on that only was he found guilty. His speeches during the trial evinced strong and polished talents. He repelled the partial and desultory attacks of Popham the Attorney-General, by acute observations and prompt and ingenious argument, uttered occasionally with rhetorical elegance. "The Attorney-General," said he, "has managed the letters and confessions produced against me as spiders do flowers, by extracting from them nothing but their poison."

Sentence of death however was passed on him, but Elizabeth had secretly resolved that it should not be executed. He passed the remainder of his unfortunate life in close confinement, unceasingly employing himself in the strictest practice of devotion,

and in the exercise of his pen on religious and moral subjects. "One book of Lanspergius," says the manuscript at Norfolk House, "containing an epistle of Jesus Christ to the faithful Soul, he translated out of Latin into English, and caused it to be printed for the furtherance of devotion. He wrote also three treatises on the excellency and utility of virtue, which never came to light, by reason he was obliged to send them away upon fear of a search before they were fully perfected and polished." Two memorials of his pious disposition remain in a secluded apartment in what is called Beauchamp's Tower, in the Tower of London, which was his prison, and whose walls are covered with melancholy devices by the hands of many illustrious state prisoners. We find there the following inscriptions, the former of which has by some accident been omitted in the account of this interesting room published by the Society of Antiquaries in the thirteenth volume of their Archæologia.

"Sicut peccati causa vinciri opprobrium est, ita, e contra, pro Christo custodiæ vincula sustinere maxima gloria est.

"Arundell,
26th of May 1587."

"Quanto plus afflictionis pro Christo in hoc sæculo, tanto plus gloriæ cum Christo in futuro. "Arundell,
June 22, 1587."

He was suddenly taken ill, in August 1592, immediately after eating a roasted teal, the sauce of which was supposed to contain poison; for the cook who prepared it, and whom he had always suspected, and frequently endeavoured in vain to get removed, came to him when on his death-bed, and earnestly besought forgiveness for some offence, which however he would not disclose. The Earl narrowly escaped for the time with life, and lingered for nearly three years in extreme weakness, but never recovered. Shortly before his departure he petitioned the Queen for permission that his Lady, and some other friends, might visit him; and she answered, "that if he would but once attend the protestant

worship his prayer should be granted, and he should be moreover restored to his honours and estates, and to all the favour that she could show him." He was released from his miseries by the hand of death on Sunday, the nineteenth of October, 1595, and was buried on the following Tuesday in the chapel of the Tower, in the same grave with the Duke his father, where his body remained till the year 1624, when his widow and his son obtained permission to remove it to Arundel, where it was interred in an iron coffin, with an epitaph in Latin, stating the principal points of his persecution, and that he died "non absque veneni suspitione."

The Countess, his wife, possessed considerable talents, and virtues yet more eminent. She was a most earnest and zealous Roman Catholic, and it was probably through her persuasion and example that the Earl, after their reconciliation, became a member of that Church. The instances given of her charity, her humility, and her patience, seem almost romantic. Several original letters from her to her daughter-in-law, Alathea Talbot, Countess of Arundel, are now in the possession of his Grace the Duke of Norfolk, and are composed in the best style of her time, and in a strain of unaffected piety, and natural tenderness, which lets us at once into her true character. Part of an elegiac poem written by her, probably on the premature death of her Lord, remains also in the same custody, and abounds with the imperfect beauties of a strong, but unpolished, poetical fancy. Elizabeth's hatred pursued her even after the death of her husband. His attainder having thrown all his property into the Crown, and left her destitute, the Queen allowed her only eight pounds weekly, which was so ill paid that the Countess was frequently obliged to borrow, in order to procure common necessaries; was prevailed on, with much difficulty, to permit her to live in Arundel House in the Strand, from whence however she was always driven when Elizabeth thought fit to reside in its neighbourhood, in Somerset House; occasionally imprisoned her; often insulted her; and always vilified her.

These noble persons had one son, Thomas, who was restored by King James the First to his father's dignities and estates, and was afterwards the Earl of Arundel so highly distinguished by his admirable collection of works of refined taste and art: and one daughter, Elizabeth, who died unmarried at the age of fifteen years.

Engraved by W Holl.

JOHN, FIRST LORD MAITLAND, OF THIRLESTANE.

OB. 1595.

FROM THE ORIGINAL, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

London Published December 1.1802 by Harding & Lepard Pall Mall East

JOHN, FIRST LORD MAITLAND.

JOHN MAITLAND, [illegible] a family in which great [illegible] passed almost with the [illegible] the second son of Sir [illegible] of the Privy Seal [illegible] daughter of Sir Thomas [illegible] some accounts [illegible] his tomb, in [illegible] 1545. The latter [illegible] incorrect, for it [illegible] succeeded to those [illegible] first titles, [illegible] was [illegible] and [illegible] years [illegible] for by a [illegible] exchanged [illegible] patent [illegible] seventh of February [illegible] the following year [illegible] was given to him by the [illegible] the succeeding June he was [illegible] Lord of Session.

It is scarcely necessary to inform [illegible] Maitland's admission into the [illegible]

JOHN, FIRST LORD MAITLAND,

OF THIRLESTANE.

JOHN MAITLAND, perhaps in all respects the most eminent of a family in which great talents and elegant genius seem to have passed almost with the regularity of hereditary succession, was the second son of Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington, Keeper of the Privy Seal of Scotland, and a Lord of Session, by Mary, daughter of Sir Thomas Cranstoun. He was born, according to some accounts, about the year 1537, though the inscription on his tomb, in stating the age at which he died, fixes his birth to 1545. The latter date, however plausible the authority, is probably incorrect, for it can scarcely be believed that he should have succeeded to those offices of high trust in which we shall presently find him, when he had scarcely attained to years of manhood. He was bred with much care in the study of the law, both in Scotland and on the Continent; and we are told that he had passed some years in fruitless attendance at the Court, when he was provided for by a grant of the Abbey of Kelso, which he afterward exchanged for the Priory of Coldingham, yet the date of the patent by which that exchange was ratified is so early as the seventh of February, 1566. On the twenty-sixth of August, in the following year, on the resignation of his father, the Privy Seal was given to him by the Regent Murray, and on the second of the succeeding June he was appointed a Lord of Session.

It is scarcely necessary to inform the reader of history that Maitland's admission into the ministry occurred at the most

critical period of the reign of the celebrated Mary. She was then a prisoner in the Castle of Lochleven, and the questions of her deposition, and the advancement of her infant son to the throne, were under discussion. His elder brother, William, at that time Secretary of State, a sketch of whose life is also given in this work, opposed those measures with the most earnest zeal; and he naturally followed the example of one to whose experience he looked for instruction, and to whom he was bound as well by ties of gratitude as of blood. Younger, however, and less artful, he sank under the vengeance of the contrary party, while that subtle and intriguing politician was left for a time at liberty to pursue his plans. He was deprived of his offices and his benefice, and fled for security to the Castle of Edinburgh, then under the command of Kirkaldy of Grange, a firm and able supporter of Mary's interests, with whom his brother also was at length obliged to seek refuge. Here he remained till that fortress surrendered to the troops of the Earl of Morton, now Regent, when he was sent to the Castle of Tantallon, and early in the following year was removed to a less rigorous custody in the house of Lord Somerville, where he remained a prisoner till the fall of Morton, in 1581, when he was released by an order of the Privy Council.

He came again to the Court with every claim to distinction. His abilities were of the highest class; the character of his mind generous, honourable, and candid; his loyalty pure and disinterested: it had subjected him to an imprisonment of many years, during which he had seen his brother fall a victim to the public principles on which they had mutually acted. James received him with becoming gratitude. On his arrival he was appointed a Senator of the College of Justice, and, on the eighteenth of May, 1584, knighted and placed in the office of Secretary of State, which had been so long and ably held by his brother. He now became in fact first minister of Scotland, for James, whose ripening mind discovered that he had at last obtained a servant at once wise, faithful, and moderate, held him in the most perfect confidence; while the nobility, tired of parties,

and unable to subdue the storms which themselves had raised, beheld without jealousy the favour of one in whom they could discover no disposition to mix in their intrigues, or to rival their power. He had, however, enemies. James Stuart, the first, and the most worthless, of the long series of minions by whom the Crown of his master was tarnished, not only conceived a bitter hatred against him, but inspired most of the junior branches of the House of Stuart with the same sentiment. This man, with no apparent recommendation but illegitimate descent from the blood royal, James had promoted, as it should seem by an act of insanity, from the station of Captain of his Guard to that of Lord Chancellor, with an Earldom. His power became, even in a few months, unbounded, and his fall was as sudden. He fled with terror from one of those violent attacks which public vengeance then so often produced in Scotland, aided in this instance by the secret influence of Elizabeth, and would have been scarcely again heard of had he not from his retirement accused the Secretary of being accessary to the death of Mary, and of a design to deliver up the person of the King to the Queen of England. When cited to substantiate the charges, which were universally discredited, he neither appeared nor produced witnesses; and James, having kept the office of Chancellor virtually vacant for a considerable time, in the vain hope that his dastardly favourite might return, at length bestowed it on Maitland. His patent or commission for that post is dated on the thirty-first of May, 1587.

Stuart's accusation had been in fact addressed to the royal and the popular feelings of the moment, and failed for want of the support which he expected from them. Maitland, dispassionate, impartial, and consistent, endeavoured to the last to save the unhappy Mary; but, the fatal blow having been stricken, exerted his utmost powers of persuasion to save his master from the ruinous consequences of an impotent resentment, and succeeded; and on a misconstruction of this wise policy, which to ordinary and heated minds might seem to indicate at least an indifference to her tragical fate, had Stuart hoped to insinuate that he had been

a party in accelerating it. The disposition of Maitland indeed was not less pacific than that of James, but the forbearance of the one arose from prudence; of the other from timidity. The King, therefore, was submissive only to his brother Sovereigns; the minister moderate towards all. In this spirit he undertook and accomplished the difficult task of reconciling James to the Lords who had been banished to England; and laboured incessantly, though with incomplete success, to compose the unhappy differences which, from private as well as public causes, agitated the great body of the Scottish nobility. In the same spirit too, though not without a secret affection to puritanism, he strove to persuade the King to let the monstrous insolences of the preachers of that sect to his Crown and person pass with impunity; advising him, says Spotswood, "to leave them to themselves, for they would render themselves ridiculous by their actings, to the people; whereas his Majesty, by imprisoning of them for their undutiful speeches and behaviour, rendered them the object of their compassion." It is not surprising that James should have rejected advice at once so odious to his feelings, and of such doubtful policy.

In the memorable year, 1588, he opened the business of the Parliament which James had called to advise him on the great impending designs of Philip of Spain, with a speech so wise and patriotic, that some of the Scottish historians have preserved the substance of it much at large. He deprecated with warmth all correspondence with Philip; advised that Scotland should be put into the best state of defence; a faithful amity maintained with Elizabeth; and that the utmost military force which could be raised, and safely spared, might be sent to England, should she claim such aid. Among those, however, whom he addressed on that occasion were men not only envious of his power, but corrupted by the bribes and promises of Spain, and secretly engaged, should Philip find it convenient to his designs to land a force in Scotland, to do their best to secure a safe passage for it into the adjoining realm. At the head of these was another Stuart, the lately created Earl of Bothwell, a man of an intriguing and restless disposition,

and a most determined enemy to Maitland. Combined with the Earls of Huntley, Errol, and Crawfurd, he now laid a plan, if a design so extravagant can be properly so called, to seize the person of the King, or the Chancellor, or both, even in the royal palace. The execution, or rather failure, of this enterprise is very obscurely related by the Scottish writers. We are told that the conspirators, attended by several armed men, gained admission into an apartment in which the King was conferring with Maitland, few others being present. That James, having expressed to Huntley, who headed the party, his surprise at their presence, quitted the room, and was presently after followed by the Chancellor, the intruders remaining inactive. It is declared, however, that some resolute persons then with the King, who were earnest friends to Maitland, threw themselves about his person, and guarded his retreat; and it is probable that from this show of defence the others inferred that their design had been disclosed, and preparations made to receive them. They left the palace seemingly panic-struck; James, after some show of displeasure, pardoned them for the insolence which they had offered; and they retired to meditate a better digested attack.

Nor was this long deferred. In the spring of 1589 the same noblemen, instigated, say the writers of the time, by the Roman Catholic party, assembled in open insurrection at Aberdeen, when they issued a proclamation, asserting "that the King was kept a prisoner by the Chancellor, and forced, against his mind, to use his nobility with that rigour to which he was naturally averse; and requiring all the lieges to concur with them, and assist them to set his person at liberty." James raised some troops, and marched to meet them. They submitted without striking a blow; were arraigned of high treason, and found guilty; and after a short restraint, the King, to flatter the Catholic party, whose protection he sought against the puritans, granted them a free pardon, Maitland, with a policy amiable in appearance, and prudent in fact, having interceded peculiarly for Bothwell.

While these matters were passing, James formed a resolution

to offer his hand to the Princess Anne of Denmark, and on his return to his capital imparted it to his Privy Council, and met with a steady opposition. Elizabeth, determined to thwart every treaty of marriage that he might propose, had secretly gained over a majority of that body to her purpose, and it is impossible to remove from the character of the Chancellor a strong suspicion that he had engaged to forward her design. It is evident that James entertained that opinion, for his resentment fell on Maitland alone, and at length arose to such a height, that, having failed in all endeavours to obtain his concurrence, he condescended to employ secret agents to inflame the mob of Edinburgh against the Chancellor, and to induce them to threaten his life, should the marriage be prevented or even delayed. In the mean time his enemies in the Court laboured incessantly in aggravating his offence, and renewing their former accusations; and he seems to have been on the point of ruin, when he extricated himself, apparently by an expedient so simple, and of such doubtful sincerity, that his restoration to favour may be more probably ascribed to the King's habitual regard for him. "The Chancellor," says Melvil, who was no friend to him, "being advertised of his Majesty's discontent and displeasure, caused it to come to his Majesty's ears that he would sail himself, and bring the Queen home with him. He forgot not to anoint the hands of some who were most familiar with his Majesty to interpret this his design so favourably that it made the King forget all by-gones; and by little and little he informed him so well of the said voyage, and the great charges he had bestowed upon a fair and swift-sailing ship, that his Majesty was moved to make the voyage himself, and to sail in the same ship with the Chancellor, with great secresy and short preparation, making no man privy thereto but such as the Chancellor pleased, and such as formerly had all been upon his faction."

They sailed on the twenty-second of October, 1589, and returned not till the twentieth of May. Maitland, who foresaw a storm rising against him at home, availed himself of this long leisure to suggest to James, for his own protection, several

novelties in the form of the Scottish government, and in the usages of the Court; meanwhile his enemies in Scotland were not idle, nor had he been able to conceal from the Queen his aversion to her marriage. Anne, on her arrival, naturally enough attached herself to the party which sought his overthrow; and the remainder of his life was passed in fruitless endeavours, by alternate menaces and concessions, to avert the reverse of fortune which seemed to await him. A faction was formed against him among the principal nobility, and the Privy Council charged him with abusing the influence which he had possessed over the King in the undue acquisition of important grants of wealth and power to himself, his family, and his adherents. James, still earnestly attached to him, had barely composed this difference with the Council, when his great enemy Bothwell, who had lately escaped from a confinement on the charge of conspiring to compass the King's death by witchcraft, again appeared in arms, and, having published a declaration of his profound loyalty, and that the removal of the Chancellor was the sole object of his enterprise, once more sought the life of that minister in the King's palace and presence. A curious detail of the minute circumstances of this attack, too long to be inserted here, may be found in the Memoirs of Sir James Melvil.

Amidst this warfare on the Chancellor, James raised him to the Peerage: on the eighteenth of May, 1590, he received the title of Baron Maitland of Thirlestane, in Berwickshire. Armed with this proof that he yet enjoyed no small share of royal favour, he seems now first to have courted popularity. He resigned the office of Secretary, his long occupation of which together with the great post of Chancellor had excited much disgust, and soon after prevailed on the King to pass that important statute by which the discipline and jurisdiction of the Kirk were finally legalized and confirmed, in 1592. These conciliations had scarcely been offered when he gave a new offence to the Queen by retaining the possession of an estate which she claimed as a member of the Abbey of Dunfermline, presented to her by the King on their marriage, though Maitland had possessed the lands in question long before

that marriage had been even meditated. She now raised a new faction against him in the Court, and he retired, broken down with vexations and disappointments, as well in his private as public affairs, to the country, where he remained most of the year 1593. At length, willing to make a final effort, he resigned the estate; was reconciled, and graciously received by her; and, in endeavouring to ensure her future good-will, unfortunately lent his aid to an intrigue by which she sought to detach the Prince, her son, from the custody of the Earl of Mar, in which, by the single authority and special preference of the King, the infant had been placed. James, suddenly apprised of this scheme, fell into a transport of anger unusual to him. He reprehended the Chancellor with the utmost bitterness; charged him with treachery and ingratitude; and left him hopeless of pardon. He now retired, never to return. On arriving at his seat at Lauder, where he had built a magnificent mansion, he was seized by a fatal illness. James relented, and a letter from him, which the Chancellor received on his death-bed, is still extant, and bears a pleasing testimony to the tenderness of the monarch's disposition. He died on the third of October, 1595, seemingly of the too common disease called a broken heart, and was buried at Haddington, under a magnificent tomb, which displays an epitaph in English verse, from the hand of his royal master.

The Chancellor Maitland occasionally relieved his severer studies by poetical composition, some specimens of which have been preserved. A satire written by him, "Aganis Sklanderous Toungis," has been published by Mr. Pinkerton; and several of his epigrams may be found in "Deliciæ Poetarum Scotorum." He married Jane, only daughter and heir of James, fourth Lord Fleming, (who re-married John Kennedy, fifth Earl of Cassilis) and had issue by her John, who succeeded to his dignity, and was in 1624 created Viscount and Earl of Lauderdale; and a daughter, Anne, married to Robert Seaton, second Earl of Wintoun.

Engraved by R T Byall

WILLIAM CECIL, LORD BURGHLEY.

OB. 1598.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF MARK GERARD, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY.

William Smith, 1837, 1 Bouverie Street, London.

WILLIAM CECIL,

LORD BURGHLEY.

No one can expect in this place a regular and digested detail even of the most prominent facts of this great man's life. The history of his country, and indeed of Europe, teem with the particulars of his political conduct; and though these have been repeatedly condensed, and embodied with much skill and labour, in forms of biography confined exclusively to his story, yet so abundant are the materials, and the theme of such mighty interest, that a life of this minister, combining on an ample scale authentic facts and judicious reasonings, with grace of style, and with that warmth of interest which only a real affection to the subject can bestow, would supply perhaps the most important deficiency in the whole circle of our historical literature. Little more can properly be done here than to collect some fleeting circumstances of his private and domestic conduct: to gather from obscure and neglected sources such as may be obtained of those smaller lights and shadows of character which the affected dignity of history has deemed unworthy of notice.

He descended from an ancient and respectable family of country gentlemen which had long been seated in the county of Hereford, a branch of which removed from thence into Lincolnshire, and settled there, in the neighbourhood of Stamford, on considerable estates, purchased by his grandfather, David Siselt, Sitsilt, or

Cyssell, for thus variously does his name seem to have been spelled by this individual person. Numerous attempts were formerly made to trace the origin of his house to remote antiquity, for Burghley's foible, and perhaps he had no other, was to assume a credit for splendid ancestry, and he spared no pains in endeavouring to establish the justice of his claim. So predominant in him was this disposition, that he could not help beginning an answer which he penned to some malignant libels on Elizabeth and her ministers with a diffuse account of his own family. It may be readily conceived that genealogists and antiquaries were not eager to dispute this point with a prime minister. Verstegan, the first of the latter class in the Treasurer's time, taking an ingenious advantage of the classical aspect of the surname "Cecil," an orthography by the way, which seems to have been first used by Burghley himself, gravely derives him from a patrician stock of ancient Rome; and others, of less note, who preceded and followed Verstegan, have been even more complaisant. Burghley's genealogical researches, however, were not confined to his own views. He loved the study, and probably devoted to it most of the little time that he could snatch from his great avocations. I once possessed many manuscript pedigrees, written entirely by himself, which a nobleman, lineally descended from him, did me the honour some years since to accept at my hands. Several of them had been compiled with the evident view of discovering illustrious alliances with his own blood. Others were miscellaneous, comprising many families of nobility and gentry in various parts of the kingdom with whom he sought not for such connexion.

He was born on the thirteenth of September, 1520, in the house of his grandfather, at Bourne, in Lincolnshire, of which parish his mother, Jane, daughter and heir of William Hickington, was a native. His father, Richard Cecil, was master of the robes to Henry the Eighth. He gained the rudiments of his education at the free school of Grantham, and afterwards at Stamford, and at the age of fifteen went to St. John's College, in Cambridge. The cool and sober mind, and the disposition for almost unremitting

application, which distinguished his public life, were equally conspicuous in his childhood: in his college he rose always at four, and could scarcely be prevailed on to quit his studies during the whole of the day. We are told that he suffered much there from a defluxion on his legs, which was ascribed to his sedentary habit, and was cured with difficulty; but this was probably his first attack of that inveterate gout which so cruelly afflicted his maturer years. His father having destined him to the profession of the law, he was entered of Gray's Inn in his twenty-first year, and, about three months after, married Mary, sister of the celebrated scholar Sir John Cheke. A casual disputation with two priests of the Romish Church on some points of doctrine, and of pontifical authority, is said to have introduced him a little before this period to the notice of Henry, who bestowed on him the reversion of an office in one of the courts of law; and the interest of his brother-in-law, who was preceptor to Edward the Sixth, brought him early in the reign of that Prince into the favour of the Protector. He was appointed Master of Requests, and promoted soon after to the office of Secretary of State; was displaced, with the rest of Somerset's friends, and committed to the Tower, where he remained a prisoner for some months; and not long before the King's death was restored by Dudley, who had discovered in him that cool wisdom of which his own intemperate counsels stood so much in need.

Cecil has been taxed with ingratitude, and indeed treachery, to his great patron Somerset, but the charge, which seems to have been grounded on his sudden acquisition of the favour of Northumberland, acquired little credit. Some suspicion, it is true, to that effect might probably have been built on the cold consolation which he offered to the Protector when that great man was tottering on the brink of final ruin. He solicited an interview with Cecil, then attached to the faction of Dudley; communicated to him his apprehensions of the impending blow; and asked his friendly advice. Cecil is said to have contented himself with answering that, "if he were innocent, he might trust to that:

if he were otherwise, he could but pity him." This anecdote, if it be genuine, furnishes no presumption of treachery. It savours only of the frigid caution which must necessarily attend him who successfully endeavours to rise amidst a conflict of parties. Pure gratitude belongs, almost exclusively, to the intercourse of private society, and Cecil was a statesman by profession; almost by nature.

Aided by the same useful, however narrow, prudence, he steered with safety through the frightful difficulties which arose on the questionable succession to the Crown upon the death of Edward. When directed by that Prince to prepare the instrument for settling it on Jane Grey, he excused himself with admirable address, and shifted the performance of the office on the judges; and, when it was to be signed by the King, and the Privy Council, contrived, though himself a member of that body, that his name should appear on the face of it only as that of a witness to the royal signature. So, when Northumberland, on the King's demise, called on him to draw the proclamation declaring Jane's accession, and asserting her right to the throne, he excused himself by declining to invade the province of the Attorney and Solicitor General; and, shortly after, when the fortunes of that rash nobleman and his family were becoming desperate, positively denied his request to compose an argument in support of her title, and of the dispositions made by Henry for the exclusion of Mary. Armed with these pleas, from which at the best little could be inferred beyond a mere neutrality, he presented himself to that Princess in the very hour which had finally crushed the hopes of Jane, and was graciously received. He prudently took this opportunity to secure himself by a general pardon.

Reserved, mysterious, and perhaps too selfish, in his political views, he preserved however a noble integrity in his affection to the religious faith in which he had been bred. When Mary, on her accession, offered to continue him in the post of Secretary if he would conform to the Church of Rome, he stedfastly refused. In a manuscript account of his life, professed to have been written by

one of his servants, which possesses much internal evidence of authenticity, we are told that he answered the noble emissary who conveyed to him the Queen's pleasure on that occasion, "that he thought himself bound to serve God first, and next the Queen, but if her service should put him out of God's service, he hoped her Majesty would give him leave to chuse an everlasting rather than a momentary service; and, as for the Queen, she had been his so gracious lady, that he would ever serve and pray for her in his heart, and with his body and goods be as ready to serve in her defence as any of her loyal subjects, so she would please to grant him leave to use his conscience to himself, and serve her at large, as a private man, which he chose rather than to be her greatest counsellor." The same authority informs us that he now commenced a correspondence with Elizabeth, in her captivity; communicated to her from time to time all public events in which her interests were concerned; assisted her with his counsels; and thus laid the foundation for that future exalted station in her favour which certainly seems to have rested little less on her personal regard for him than on her conviction of his wisdom and his fidelity.

He was the first person on whom she called for advice, for on the very day of her accession he presented to her minutes of twelve particular matters which required her instant attention, and the first appointment of her reign was to replace him in the office of Secretary. To this, three years after, she added that of Master of the Court of Wards, a post of considerable profit and patronage; on the 25th of February 1570, O. S., created him Baron of Burghley in Lincolnshire; in 1572 gave him the Order of the Garter; and in the autumn of that year he succeeded the old Marquis of Winchester as Lord High Treasurer, and so remained till his death, on the fourth of August 1598, having presided uninterruptedly in the administration of public measures for thirty of the most glorious and happy years that England has ever known.

In every feature of this very eminent person's character we trace

some one or more of the qualifications for a great statesman, and in every particular of his public conduct we discover their fruition. He burst forth therefore in his youth upon public observation in the possession, almost intuitively, of those rare faculties which deride the slow march of experience, and scarcely need the protection of power; a fact almost incredible, had we not ourselves of late years witnessed a similar phenomenon. In a remarkable letter of Roger Ascham's, in the year 1550, chiefly on the learning of the English ladies, having spoken largely in the praise of the erudite Mildred Coke, who had then become the second wife of Cecil, he digresses to her husband, at that time in his thirtieth year, and a minister of some years' standing. "It may be doubted," says the translator of Ascham, "whether she is most happy in the possession of this surprising degree of knowledge; or in having had for her preceptor and father Sir Anthony Coke, whose singular erudition caused him to be joined with John Cheke in the office of tutor to the King; or, finally, in having become the wife of William Cecil, lately appointed Secretary of State; a young man indeed, but mature in wisdom, and so deeply skilled both in letters and affairs, and endued with such moderation in the exercise of public offices, that to him would be awarded by the consenting voice of Englishmen the four-fold praise attributed to Pericles by his rival Thucydides—to know all that is fitting; to be able to apply what he knows; to be a lover of his country; and to be superior to money."

Perhaps no better proof of his profound sagacity could be found than in the fact of his having, throughout the unusually protracted term of his administration, enjoyed the uninterrupted confidence and esteem of a Princess whom, if we can for a moment forget our own prejudices and her glory, we shall find little less capricious than her father, and almost as unprincipled. One solitary instance of an apparent suspension of her favour towards him accompanied the ridiculous disavowal of her intention to sign the death warrant of the unhappy Mary, and the infamous sacrifice of Davison, through which she sought to conceal one crime by the commission

of another; but this was mere affectation and artifice; he is said to have besought her pardon with a show of the most humble contrition, and received it so speedily that the sincerity of her anger was even at that time doubted.

Burghley, a favourite without the name, was ever an overmatch for the unworthy Leicester, on whom that odious title was always bestowed. The fair fame which followed the one unsought was vainly pursued by the other, and thus will the steady and straightforward step of wisdom and rectitude always outstrip the eager and irregular efforts of cunning and deceit. Flattery seems to have had no share in procuring or maintaining to him the unbounded grace of his mistress, nor can an instance be found of his having used artifice to cultivate that popularity which he so largely enjoyed. He chastened with so just a judgment a naturally high spirit, and an ample consciousness of the dignity of his rank and place, as to obtain the reverence of many, and the esteem of the whole body, of the nobility, with the exception of a very few, the impotency of whose factious endeavours against him served but to increase the splendor of his reputation, and to strengthen the grasp with which he upheld the honour of the Crown, and the interests of the nation. Though Elizabeth is said to have ruled by the dexterous opposition of parties, she ever abstained from involving him in the collision. Indeed there is good reason to suppose that he joined her in the prosecution of this policy, and, by affecting a careless neutrality, increased the vain hopes of faction, and encouraged it to disclose its views. In the long course of his ministry, history records not a single instance of erroneous judgment; of persecution, or even severity, for any public or private cause; of indecorous ambition, or thirst of wealth; of haughty insolence, or mean submission. In a word, moderation, the visible sign of a moral sense critically just, was the guide of all his actions; decorated the purity of his religious faith with charity to its opponents, and tempered the sincere warmth of his affection to the Crown with a due regard to all the civil institutions of the realm; it has been therefore happily said

of him, that "he loved to wrap the prerogatives in the laws of the land."

The same fine principle coloured the whole conduct of his private life. Without remarkable fondness or indulgence, he was the kindest husband, father, and master, among the great men of his time; with few professions of regard, a warm friend; a steady enemy, with passive resentment; a cheerful, and even jocose companion, with cautious familiarity; just in all his dealings, without ostentation; magnificent in his establishments, without profusion; tenacious of the powers and privileges of his own high station, and tenderly careful of the rights of others. His two marriages, in both of which he was singularly fortunate, have been already mentioned. It is scarcely necessary to say that the Marquis of Exeter is lineally descended from the first, and the Marquis of Salisbury from the second. His second lady brought him likewise two daughters; Anne, who became the wife of Edward de Vere, eighteenth Earl of Oxford; and Elizabeth, married to William, eldest son of Thomas Lord Wentworth.

Engraved by W.T.Mote.

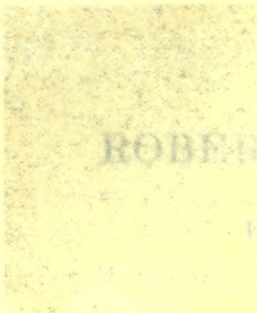
ROBERT DEVEREUX, EARL OF ESSEX.

OB. 1601.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF HILLIARD, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF VERULAM.

London, Published Dec^r 1.1838, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.



ROBERT DEVEREUX,

EARL OF ESSEX.

THAT incomparable Essex, who was the second Earl of his family; the great favourite of Elizabeth, and of England; the admiration and the regret of Europe. In an age certainly inquisitive; at least pretending to exquisite taste and judgment; and peculiarly distinguished by its incessant and various employment of the press; it is astonishing that no regular and detailed celebration should have been dedicated to the memory of this very extraordinary man. We have been gorged, even to disgust, with tedious pieces of unmerited biography, and the actions and motives of plodding statesmen, insignificant courtiers, and rebels who resembled Essex in nothing but in their rank and their punishment, have been sifted and analysed with the most insufferable minuteness; while a thousand inestimable memorials of a character, the exquisite perfections and errors of which were almost peculiar to itself, have been suffered to remain scattered and unconnected on the pages of history, or buried in undisturbed manuscript. How can we account for this omission? Have fear and modesty deterred modern biographers from venturing on a task to perform which worthily the pen must sometimes be dipped in the softest milk of human kindness, and sometimes into the burning fermentation of furious passions; or must we ascribe it to a submission, less excusable, to the depraved taste of a time in which history is chiefly devoted to the discovery of political analogies, and to the suggestion of party arguments? The narrow

compass to which these essays are limited prohibits the author from an attempt in which he could have but little chance of success. He must confine himself here to a mere recital of circumstances. But it were earnestly to be wished that some one, in whom delicate feeling is united to acute judgment; who could form a fair estimate of admirable merits and of venial imprudences; who may be qualified by an extensive knowledge of the history of the human heart as well as of his country, would write a life of the Earl of Essex.

He was the son of Walter Devereux, Viscount Hereford, &c., who had been created Earl of Essex by Elizabeth, in 1572, and whose portrait, with a sketch of his life and character, may be found elsewhere in this work. His mother was Lettice, daughter of Sir Francis Knollys, K.G., a relation, at no great distance, to Anne Bullen, the Queen's mother; and Robert, the elder of their two sons, was born at the Earl's seat at Netherwood, in Herefordshire, on the tenth of November, 1567. His childhood was undistinguished by any promise of more than ordinary parts. We are told indeed by Sir Henry Wotton, who may be said to have studied the history of the family, that his father had formed a very mean judgment of his understanding, and directed his attention therefore chiefly to the improvement of Walter, his younger son. Robert had not attained his tenth year when he succeeded to the honours and estates of his family. His father had committed him to the care of persons of uncommon wisdom and worth. Burghley was his guardian, and the severely virtuous Sussex, in regard of a promise to the Earl on his death-bed, his firm friend. Sir Edward Waterhouse, a man perhaps equal to them in talents, as he certainly was in honour and integrity, personally superintended his affairs, and watched over his conduct with a vigilance which was sweetened, as well as strengthened, by the most earnest affection, for Waterhouse had been entirely beloved and trusted by the deceased Earl, and entered on his charge with a heart overflowing with kindness and gratitude. Towards the end of the year 1578, the young Essex, by the

direction of Lord Burghley, became a student of Trinity College, in Cambridge. Whitgift, afterwards Primate, who was then master of that house, undertook the direction of his education, and here the character and powers of his mind were presently unfolded: his obedient application to the severer orders of learning was not less remarked than his attachment to more polite studies, and he was distinguished for an elegance and fluency of composition of which his time afforded few instances. His manners were peculiarly engaging; his temper mild, compliant, and marked by a graceful seriousness which approached to melancholy; his moral conduct stained by no vice, and becomingly tinctured with dignity. He remained in the University till 1582, when he took the degree of Master of Arts, and soon after went into South Wales, where he resided in one of his family mansions, and became, says Wotton, so enamoured of a rural life, that it required much persuasion to withdraw him from his retirement.

In 1584 he came at length to Court, introduced and patronised by his father-in-law, Leicester, who was then in the zenith of his power. It had been strongly rumoured that Leicester caused the late Earl's death by poison. He had married the widowed Countess with indecent haste, and perhaps now sought to lessen the suspicion under which he laboured by thus publicly professing his affection for the son. It has been said that Essex was inclined to reject his proffered friendship; we find, however, that in the succeeding year he accompanied Leicester, then appointed Captain-General in the Low Countries, to Holland, where, though little more than eighteen years old, he received the commission of General of the Horse. He was distinguished in that campaign by his personal bravery, especially in the battle of Zutphen, and on the twenty-seventh of December, 1587, shortly after his return, was suddenly elevated to the dignified post of Master of the Horse. In the following year, when Elizabeth assembled an army to await at the mouth of the Thames the awful attack threatened by Spain; when superior military skill, to direct the

bravery of her troops, was perhaps even more important than the wisdom of her ministers to the support of a crown which was then thought by many to totter on her head; she chose this youth to command her horse, and decorated him with that splendid order of knighthood which she had frequently denied to the best and the noblest of her old servants. Thus far he seemed to common observers to have been borne forward on the wing of Leicester's power, or rather till this period had Elizabeth been able to conceal that extravagant partiality which presently after astonished all Europe, and still remains perhaps the most remarkable paradox in English history.

Leicester died in the autumn of that year, and Essex instantly rose to a measure of favour which that extraordinary man, whose influence over the Queen had been so long envied, never enjoyed. It was unsought by himself. It pursued him. It seemed even to molest him, by interrupting the course of his inclinations, and confining his ardent and independent spirit to spheres of action which, though the amplest that a monarch could offer, were too narrow for its rapid and eccentric range. Even so early as the spring of 1589 he fled, unpermitted, from the Court, and sailed to Portugal with Norris and Drake, a volunteer in the expedition then undertaken for the restoration of Don Antonio to the throne of that kingdom. The degree of anger to which Elizabeth was provoked by this extravagant step, and by his disobedience to a previous summons, may be best inferred from the letter by which she commanded his instant return.

"Essex,

"Your sudden and undutiful departure from our presence, and your place of attendance, you may easily conceive how offensive it is, and ought to be, unto us. Our great favours bestowed upon you, without deserts, hath drawn you thus to neglect and forget your duty, for other construction we cannot make of these your strange actions. Not meaning therefore to tolerate this your disordered part, we gave directions to some of our Privy Council, to let you know our express pleasure

for your immediate repair hither, which you have not performed, as your duty doth bind you, increasing thereby greatly your former offence, and undutiful behaviour, in departing in such sort without our privity, having so special offices of attendance and charge near our person. We do therefore charge and command you forthwith, upon the receipt of these our letters, all excuses and delay set apart, to make your present and immediate repair unto us, to understand our farther pleasure; whereof see you fail not, as you will be loth to incur our indignation, and will answer for the contrary at your uttermost peril.

"The 15th of April, 1589."

Essex at length presented himself, and these threats were revoked. He returned not to inquiry and punishment, but to renewed grace. The gallantry with which he had fought in every action during his absence, was thrown by Elizabeth into the scale of his merits, and the counterpoise forgotten. Elizabeth admired brave men; and yet it has been observed that when, about this time, Essex, in a sudden fit of jealousy of her favour, had affronted Sir Charles Blount, afterwards Lord Montjoy, because he had decorated his person with a jewel which the Queen had given to him, and had been therefore challenged, and wounded in a duel, by that gentleman, she swore, with great seeming wrath, that "unless some one or other should take him down, there would be no ruling him." There can be little doubt that this speech was meant to disguise her real sentiments. Such a favourite as Essex could not have offended a woman of her character by contending for her good graces. His marriage however, which shortly followed these events, did indeed provoke her resentment to the utmost; but here too the same feelings led her to dissemble: she ascribed he ranger to the alleged inequality of the match, by which she alleged that the honour of the Earl's house was degraded—degraded by his having married the daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham, and relict of Sir Philip Sidney!

In 1591 he was appointed to the command of a force of four

thousand troops, sent by Elizabeth to assist Henry the Fourth of France in the siege of Rouen. The object of this expedition was wholly disconcerted by the tardy co-operation of the French. Essex however distinguished himself by a chivalrous gallantry in many skirmishes, and, after an absence of some months, returned, highly disgusted because the greatest captain of the age had declined his advice on a military question. He was received with unabated kindness by the Queen, who now admitted him into her Privy Council, but it is at this period, as perhaps might naturally be expected, that historians have dated the commencement of his discontents. His captivating talents, his unbounded liberality, his courtesy, and his courage, had rendered him the idol of all warm and generous hearts; while the selfish and the needy crowded round him, and loaded him with adulation, in the hope of sharing the fruits of his unbounded influence over Elizabeth. The younger nobility, and the military, looked up to him with mixed motives of affection and interest, and considered him at once their example and their patron; the Puritans, now becoming a formidable body, arrogantly claimed his protection as a duty which had devolved on him from his father-in-law, Leicester, who had openly favoured their doctrines and their pretensions; and the disaffected of other classes courted him with unceasing assiduity, in the view of, some time, availing themselves of that discord with the Queen or her servants, into which the simplicity of his heart, and the eagerness of his temper, were so likely to betray him. This enormous popularity at length excited in secret the fears of Elizabeth, and increased the jealousy already raised in the breasts of her ministers by the favours that she had bestowed on him. She songht to avert her danger by furnishing incessant employment to his activity and love of glory, and they laboured to drive him to desperation by schemes to render his services abortive.

These passions were beginning to operate when, in June 1596, he undertook, jointly with the High Admiral Howard, the command of the expedition to Cadiz. The particulars of this, and

of his excursions in the succeeding year, are so largely given by our historians, that it would be impertinent to repeat them here. It is worthy however of observation, that in the former his opinion was always uniformly rejected, save only as to the proper moment for attacking the Spanish fleet in the harbour, the Admiral's concession to which was so joyfully received by him, that, in an ecstacy, he threw his hat into the sea. The Island voyage, as it was called, of 1597, in which he acted as commander-in-chief both of the army and fleet, was unhappily distinguished by his differences with Raleigh, who served as Rear Admiral, the origin and circumstances of which have been variously and even contradictorily represented by different writers; and yet, amidst this confusion, strong grounds appear to suspect Raleigh of a premeditated design to prevent the success of the enterprise. Essex, on his arrival from Cadiz, had been better received by the Queen than by her ministers, whom he found inclined to censure every part of his conduct in the expedition. He published therefore a narrative of it, more remarkable for sincerity than prudence, in which, as has been well observed, "he set down whatever was omitted in the prosecution of it, and then, by way of answer to those objections, imputed all miscarriages to other men; by which he raised to himself many implacable enemies, and did not gain one friend." In the mean time his attempts to use his influence for the service of his friends, which indeed seems to have been the end to which he wished always to apply it, were constantly thwarted. He was now deeply mortified, and Elizabeth, who seems to have shared in his chagrin, endeavoured to console him by a gift for life of the post of Master of the Ordnance, to which he was appointed on the nineteenth of March, 1597. New causes, however, of dissatisfaction arose. During his absence on the Island voyage the Admiral, Howard, had been created Earl of Nottingham, and in his patent the reduction of Cadiz was ascribed to his good service. This affront, as Essex, and perhaps rightly, conceived it, together with his vexation at the moderate success of that expedition, produced in him a disgust which

became publicly visible. On his return, he retired to the country, and, according to the fashion of that time, pleaded illness to excuse his attendance in Parliament, which was then sitting. Elizabeth again interfered to appease him, and on the twenty-eighth of December, 1597, raised him to the splendid office of Earl Marshal of England.

His services, or rather his endeavours to serve, were now transferred to the Council, and he appeared in the character of a statesman, for which he possessed every qualification but patience. Here he opposed, with equal vehemence and good argument, the proposals offered in May, 1598, for a treaty of amity with Spain. On this great topic he engaged in disputes with the Treasurer, Burghley, which rose to such warmth that Burghley, at the council table, drew a prayer-book from his bosom, and prophetically pointed out to the Earl this passage—"Men of blood shall not live out half their days." Peace was determined on; and Essex, in his dread of being misrepresented, to the abatement of that popularity his affection to which was his greatest fault and misfortune, immediately composed his "Apology against those which falsely and maliciously take him to be the only hindrance of the peace and quiet of their country, addressed to his friend Anthony Bacon." This exquisite example of his talents and integrity, as well as of the purity and elegance of his style, infinitely valuable too as it exhibits a sketch by his own hand of the circumstances of his public conduct to that period, was soon after printed, doubtless at least with his concurrence, to the great offence of the Queen. Burghley, his ancient guardian, whose power had in some measure warded off the attacks of his enemies, and to the wisdom and kindness of whose advice his impetuosity had frequently submitted, died while Essex was preparing his Apology, and he fell into new errors and excesses. Among these the most remarkable occurred in his memorable and well-known quarrel with Elizabeth on the choice of a Governor for Ireland, which terminated on his part with the grossest personal insult ever offered by a subject to a sovereign, and on hers by

manual chastisement. He fled to hide his rage in the most obscure retirement, and it was with the utmost difficulty that he could be prevailed on to acknowledge his fault. The wise and worthy Lord Keeper Egerton, in addressing to him a long letter of gentle remonstrance, uses these persuasions—"If you still hold this course, which hitherto you find to be worse and worse, (and the longer you go, the further you go out of the way) there is little hope or likelihood the end will be better. You are not yet gone so far but that you may well return. The return is safe, but the progress is dangerous and desperate in this course you hold. If you have any enemies, you do that for them which they could never do for themselves; your friends you leave to scorn and contempt. You forsake yourself, and overthrow your fortunes, and ruinate your honour and reputation. You give that comfort and courage to the foreign enemies as greater they cannot have; for what can be more welcome and pleasing news than to hear that her Majesty and the realm are maimed of so worthy a member, who hath so often and so valiantly quailed and daunted them? You forsake your country when it hath most need of your counsel and aid: and, lastly, you fail in your indissoluble duty which you owe unto your most gracious Sovereign; a duty imposed on you, not by nature and policy only, but by the religious and sacred bond wherein the Divine Majesty of Almighty God hath by the rule of Christianity obliged you."

Essex's reply presents perhaps the truest picture extant not only of his natural but of his political character; of the grandeur of his mind, and of the tyranny of his passions; of his habitual loyalty, and his republican inclinations. In this admirable letter we find the following vivacious expressions of defiance—"When the vilest of all indignities are done unto me, doth religion inforce me to sue? Doth God require it? Is it impiety not to do it? Why? Cannot Princes err? Cannot subjects receive wrong? Is an earthly power infinite? Pardon me, pardon me, my Lord; I can never subscribe to these principles. Let Solomon's fool laugh when he is stricken. Let those that mean to make

their profit of Princes shew to have no sense of Princes' injuries. Let them acknowledge an infinite absoluteness on earth that do not believe an infinite absoluteness in heaven. As for me, I have received wrong; I feel it: My cause is good; I know it: and, whatsoever comes, all the powers on earth can never shew more strength or constancy in oppressing than I can shew in suffering whatsoever can or shall be imposed on me." He was at length persuaded to make a proud submission, and was again received into Elizabeth's favour, which seemed even yet to have been but little impaired.

The affairs of Ireland appear indeed to have been at that time Essex's favourite political study. He had frequently, in the debates of the council, complained of an unreasonable parsimony with which he charged the Ministers in the government of that country, and of restrictions by which they had long fettered the faculties of the Queen's Deputies. His enemies determined to avail themselves of this disposition and to tempt him by an offer of that important and honourable post, with unusually enlarged authority, and the command of a more numerous army than had ever been sent thither. To conquer rebellious factions; to civilize a people at once barbarous and generous; to administer strict justice through the means of absolute power; were noble objects in the view of one whose character united, with a haughty and courageous spirit, the mildest humanity and the most exalted moral principles. Prudence too, if he ever used it, now perhaps reminded him that anger is best cooled by absence, and that past errors are frequently forgotten in the grateful sense of new services. He accepted the office however with reluctance and disgust, unless we are to consider the following exquisite little epistle to Elizabeth, which is said, I know not on what ground, to have been written between the dates of his appointment and his departure, merely as a general appeal to her feelings, and a strong effort to regain the fulness of her favour, for which he made his commission to Ireland the pretext.

"From a mind delighting in sorrow; from spirits wasted with passion; from a heart torn in pieces with care, grief, and travel; from a man that hateth himself, and all things else that keep him alive; what service can your Majesty expect, since any service past deserves no more than banishment and proscription to the cursedest of all islands? It is your rebels' pride and success must give me leave to ransom myself out of this hateful prison; out of my loathed body; which, if it happen so, your majesty shall have no cause to mislike the fashion of my death, since the course of my life could never please you."

"Happy he could finish forth his fate
In some unhaunted desert, most obscure
From all society, from love and hate
Of worldly folk; then should he sleep secure;
Then wake again, and yield God ever praise;
Content with hips, and haws, and brambleberry,
In contemplation passing out his days,
And change of holy thoughts, to make him merry;
Who when he dies his tomb may be a bush,
Where harmless Robin dwells with gentle Thrush."

Your Majesty's exiled servant,

ROBERT ESSEX."

On the twenty-seventh of March, 1599, he left London, on his way towards Ireland, to the great joy of those who had thus freed themselves of his unwelcome presence to place him amidst perils which they well knew how to increase. Their efforts however were needless. The short term of his government was a tissue of imprudence, confusion, and misfortune. He passed the first two months in making journeys of observation, and plans for action, and laid the fruits of those labours before the Queen at large in a letter of consummate ability. Elizabeth slighted his opinions, and blamed his conduct in the very first military enterprize which he undertook. During the irritation produced by these crosses, a large body of his troops was worsted by the Irish,

and he punished the remainder of the detachment, contrary to his nature, with a frightful severity. He undertook an unsuccessful expedition, contrary to the Queen's express order to march his army into another province, and afterwards, in obeying that order, was yet more unfortunate. He demanded reinforcements, and obtained them; marched in person, at the head of his main army, to attack the rebels, under the command of Tir-oen; and, without striking a blow, concluded a disgraceful treaty with that chieftain. His incessant reflection at that period on the designs of his enemies in England, seems to have been either the cause or the consequence of a degree of actual insanity which never after left him. He formed a serious resolution to return with his army, and to employ it in subduing them, and it was with much difficulty that some of his dearest friends succeeded in dissuading him from that monstrous attempt. Shortly after, on receiving a reproachful letter from the Queen, he suddenly quitted Ireland, almost alone, and travelling with the utmost speed, appeared most unexpectedly in her presence at Nonsuch, on the twenty-eighth of September, 1599, and implored her to listen to his apology.

Elizabeth was touched by the singular character of this appeal, which once more excited in some degree her tenderness, while it flattered her pride. Essex, once so beloved; whose disobedience she had threatened with condign punishment; whose rebellious resistance she had been taught to anticipate; instead of persisting in his contumacy; or standing aloof to treat for pardon; or employing friends to intercede on his behalf; had fled from an army which adored him, and crossed the sea, to throw himself singly on her mercy and her wisdom. She received him with complacency, and admitted him to a long conference, in the conclusion of which she commanded him not to quit his apartment in the Court, and soon after committed him to an honourable, though close, confinement in the house of the Lord Keeper. It is more than probable that, had matters been left wholly to her undisturbed decision, he might even now have escaped with very

light penalties, but another powerful passion had been awakened in her breast, and, terrified at the representations which were every hour laid before her of the dangers to be apprehended from his popularity and his violence, she consented at length to leave his case to the Privy Council, before which it had been somewhat agitated immediately after his arrival. He had remained long a prisoner, still occasionally encouraged, and with Elizabeth's connivance, to hope that no more was intended than to humble his spirit, and that he might be again restored to her grace; till, on the fifth of June, 1600, he was brought publicly before the Council, and, after an examination of eleven hours, for the most part of which he was kept kneeling, it was determined that he should be deprived of his seat in that body, and of all his offices, except that of Master of the Horse, and should remain in custody during the Queen's pleasure. He was finally enlarged on the twenty-seventh of the following August, and retired to one of his seats in the country.

The die was now cast. Essex considered his situation to be desperate, and that conceit effectually rendered it so. In the beginning of the winter he returned to London, and his house became not only the resort but the residence of the idle, the profligate, and the disaffected of all ranks. Cuffe, who had been his secretary in Ireland, a man of considerable talents, rendered useless, or worse, like his own, by an impetuous temper, undertook to execute his plans, if they deserved to be so called. Few circumstances of our history are better known than those which compose the sad sequel of Essex's story. He seems to have conceived the extravagant, and indeed utterly impracticable, design of working simultaneously on the affection and the fears of Elizabeth. Declaring his profound loyalty, and the most earnest personal regard, he armed his little band professedly to force her to hear his grievances, and to dismiss her servants. Terrified perhaps, but still interested in his favour, instead of employing the ample means to reduce him which were in her power, she ordered that he should be summoned before her

Council, and he disobeyed. The next morning she sent the Lord Keeper, the Lord Chief Justice, and others of the Council, to his house, to receive his complaints, and he imprisoned them. He then sallied forth, at the head of his adherents, and sought ineffectually for volunteers in the city; returned by the river, and fortified his house; and, when no means remained to save him from the perdition to which he seemed to have devoted himself, was at length proclaimed a traitor, besieged, and taken prisoner. These strange circumstances occurred on the seventh and eighth of February, 1601, N. S.; and on the nineteenth, he was brought to his trial before the Peers, and condemned to die. Of his treason there could be no doubt, for it had been committed in the sight of thousands; but for his motives, saving the simple impulses of a most fiery and imprudent spirit, we can look only to his own declaration, that his first object was to gain access to the Queen's person, and his final view, to the establishment of the succession in the King of Scots, for the charge preferred against him of a secret design to set up a claim to the crown on his own part, in right of a remote maternal descent from the House of York, is utterly incredible. The Queen was anxious to the last to spare his life. Of the well known, but weakly authenticated, tale of the Countess of Nottingham, and the ring, with which many writers have been fond of amplifying the last scene of this tragedy, I will say nothing; we have otherwise sufficient proof that Elizabeth at length gave way to the importunities of her ministers with the utmost reluctance, and signed the warrant for his execution amidst a dreadful conflict of tenderness, resentment, and terror. He suffered death on the sixth day after his trial, with a piety not less modest than fervid, and a magnanimity at once calm and heroic.

Of all eminent historical characters, that of Essex has generally been deemed the most difficult to be justly estimated. Rare and singular indeed was its construction, but surely not mysterious. The faults of those who deserve to be called good and great usually spring from an exuberance of fine qualities. All the errors

of this extraordinary person may be traced to the warmth of his heart, or the noble simplicity of his mind; to his courage, to his friendships, to his exact sense of honour, or his exalted love of truth. With these virtues, joined to admirable talents, he was perhaps the most unfit man living to be trusted with the direction of important affairs, either civil or military, for his candour disqualified him for the cabinet, and his rashness for the field. He weighed the purity of his intentions against the motives of other public servants with accuracy and justice, and the disdain with which he proclaimed the result rendered them his mortal enemies; but he rated his services, and perhaps his powers, too highly; and hence his frequent quarrels with Elizabeth, the enormous extent of whose favour and bounty he seems never to have considered as commensurate to his deserts: his occasional insolence to that Princess was therefore the issue of pride, and not of ingratitude. His resentments were marked by a petulance somewhat inconsistent with genuine dignity, and his friendships were not always worthily placed; but he was not capricious, for his affections and his aversions were unalterable, and he was incapable of disguising either sentiment: in following the dictates of the one, his liberality knew no bounds; in the gratification of the other, his generosity was never sullied by a single instance of private revenge. His domestic conduct seems to have been unexceptionable. In his hours of retirement his impetuosity was soothed by the consolations of sincere piety, and conscious innocence; by the love of his family, and his dependants, who idolized him; by the temperate charms of refined conversation and reflection. In the humble sincerity of his dying confession, he had no moral offences to avow but certain amorous frailties of his youth.

His understanding was of the sort which usually accompanies acute feelings; quick, penetrating, and versatile; admirable in its conceptions, but of uncertain execution; sometimes approaching, sometimes out-reaching, but seldom resting at, that sober and wary point of judgment which in worldly affairs is dignified by

the title of wisdom. His acquirements were infinitely varied and extended. It will appear, on an examination of those of his writings which have been fortunately left to us, that his studies, or rather his perceptions, had embraced every usual object of human science. His powers of expression were equal to the measure of his knowledge: indeed he was incomparably the first English prose writer of his time, and it has been lately discovered that in Latin composition he fell nothing short of the best classical models. The present age too, busy in such researches, has brought to light several poems, of various characters, which reflect a new and unexpected lustre on his genius. Such was the man, and so designed by nature to inform, to improve, and to delight society, whom his own ambition, and Elizabeth's folly, misplaced in the characters of a statesman, a general, and a courtier.

On the extravagance of the Queen's attachment to this nobleman, and the motives by which it was dictated, it is unnecessary here to dilate. Lord Orford, in his "Royal and Noble Authors," has treated at large of those matters, with such acuteness of reasoning, and such extent of historical knowledge, that any further endeavour to elucidate that singular subject would be vain and presumptuous. I shall therefore only add that the Earl of Essex married, as has been before stated, Frances, daughter and heir of Sir Francis Walsingham, and widow of Sir Philip Sidney, by whom he had an only son, Robert, who was the last Earl of the family of Devereux; and two daughters; Frances, married to William Seymour, Earl of Hertford, afterwards Duke of Somerset; and Dorothy, wife, first to Sir Henry Shirley, of Stanton Harold, in Leicestershire, Bart., secondly, to William Stafford, of Blatherwick, in the county of Northampton.